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The Christian East

OUR FRONTISPIECE.

NO need can exist to tell our Anglican readers anything about the Archbishop of York or about the Archbishop of Thyatira, the photograph of whom, taken together at the recent Enthronization of the former in the metropolitical Cathedral of the northern province of the Church of England, forms our frontispiece. But our Eastern friends may be grateful for a few words about the Archbishop of York's extraordinarily fruitful career and many-sided brilliant personality. The Most Rev. Dr. William Temple is the son of the old age of the late Archbishop Frederick Temple, who, in his day, was a great force in England, and was translated from London to Canterbury in 1896 in succession to Archbishop Benson. Dr. William Temple was born of his father's second marriage, and during his episcopate at Exeter in 1883, and is, therefore, still in the very prime of life. Indeed, no modern precedent exists for the election of so young a man to the Archbishopric of York.

After an extraordinarily successful academic career—he was an exhibitioner of Balliol College, Oxford, a 1st Class in Mods and Lit. Hum., and became Fellow and Lecturer at Queen's College in 1904—he accepted the headmastership of Repton School in 1910, an experience which, as all who know what our public schools are will readily apprehend, was in itself of ripening value to him. However, his heart was in the Ministry, and having been ordained deacon 1907, and priest 1908, while still at Queen's College, Oxford—he had been Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury since 1910—he accepted in 1914 the important living of St. James', Piccadilly, the pulpit of which gave him an opportunity then unrivalled in London. Eager and intensely interested as he has been from boyhood in everything which belongs to that region of social-religious work which touches life, and withal being a fine scholar, an exact theologian, a courageous and accurate thinker and an advanced philosopher, he attracted at St. James' a congregation which must have been practically unique. Society folk crowded to hear him for his trenchant and plain gospel teaching. Social reformers and working class folk came to him for inspiration and because of his sympathy with their outlook and needs. The King honoured him by appointing him one of his chaplains.

As soon as the War was over, he surprised everyone by resigning St. James'. He had concluded that the great need of the Church, and therefore of the nation of which the Church is the soul, was that the Church herself should find "Life and Liberty," that is to say, should equip herself with an organ by which she should be able to form and

express her mind, and to legislate for herself, and so might face the problems of our age. Accordingly, he had resolved to give himself up to that agitation which was effective and resulted in the erection of the Church Assembly. Even while he was engaged in that preoccupation, however, he continued his social-religious work and, University teacher that he is *au bout d'ongle*, devoted his time and energy especially to a fruitful and vitalizing participation in the campaign of the Workers' Educational Association, that wonderful dynamic whereby our Labour movement has so largely equipped itself to be not simply partisan and materialistic, but informed and logical. His immediate objective reached, and the goal of the Life and Liberty movement being in sight, he was singled out for appointment as Canon of Westminster in 1919—a great position in itself, which he was not allowed, however, to hold long, being elected Bishop of Manchester, the manufacturing metropolis of the North of England, in 1921. There, up to his translation, he has worked and ruled with conspicuous results. But while his rule as a Diocesan has been peculiarly wise and acceptable, he has not forgotten his other essential interests. *Copec* not only knew him for its Chairman in 1924, but that Conference and its consequences own him as their true author. At the Life and Work Conference of Stockholm in 1925, and at the Lausanne Faith and Order Conference in 1927, he was a paramount force, and that far less on the public scene, greatly though he played his part in them, than in the unobserved work of preparation and continuation. If the Churches come together, and a united Christian front be formed, he will have been both one of the prime visionaries and one of the chief labourers for that happy and great event. There is nothing shallow about him. If he has been and done almost everything, and, playing many parts, has played them effectively, he is always strong, big and thorough. Harnack is said to have met him as a youth at the house of his uncle, the then British Ambassador in Berlin, and having by chance drifted into a discussion with him on Hegelianism to have been startled by the depth of his modest but bold expression of his mind into enquiring, And who is this young man? He has been known to deliver a flawless lecture on an abstract theological problem without notice. *Nihil tetegit quod non ornavit.* Intellectually, he belongs to the first division of first-class brains. Spiritually, he is a crusader, out to make this world Christ's very Kingdom. Among his many sympathies must be reckoned great good-will to Eastern Christianity, and that he should have chosen not only to secure the presence of his friend the Archbishop of Thyatira at his Enthronization in York Cathedral, but to have been photographed side by side with him on that happy and auspicious occasion, is indeed an augury of the future. The list of his writings, all of real importance as contributions to theology, philosophy and social religious problems, includes fourteen major works, any of which would have brought distinction to its author.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

THE Archbishop of Canterbury is due to leave Venice on April 3rd as the guest of Mr. Pierpoint Morgan on a voyage of convalescence in that keen churchman's steam yacht the *Corsair*. No fixed programme has been made for his Grace, and whether he proceeds to Constantinople and Alexandria will depend on the decisions which he takes while on his voyage. But it is certain that he will visit Athens and will make pilgrimage to Jerusalem, arriving there about April 20th. At Athens he will be received formally by Archbishop Chrysostom and the Holy Synod of Greece in their Cathedral, and in the Holy Places of Jerusalem by the Patriarch Damianos, the Holy Synod of the Church of Zion and the Confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre. The High Commissioner of Palestine, Sir John Chancellor, and the notabilities of all religious communities of Palestine will also take part in his official reception at St. George's Cathedral—the Latin Patriarch alone excepted. Should he visit Constantinople and Alexandria, the Œcumenical Patriarch and the Patriarch Meletios are eager to receive him in like manner at St. George of the Thanar and the Cathedral of St. Sabas. Dr. Lang is no less deeply interested in the drawing together of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches than his predecessor, Dr. Davidson, and, rather against the wishes of his medical advisers, yielded to the urgent desire of the Orthodox ecclesiastical authorities that his visits to their cities should not be *incognito*. A journey of an Archbishop of Canterbury to the Near East is, so far as we know, without precedent. Certainly none has taken place in recent centuries. That Dr. Lang's visit will have lasting results for Re-union, we are sure. We pray that it may bring him strength and health and quickening for the great work which lies before him and to which he is called. That he should sanctify his Primacy at its inception by pilgrimage to Jerusalem must gladden and inspire us all.

Examples of children devoting their lives to carrying on the work of their parents are frequent. Elizabeth Countess Carnarvon, whose death on January 31st we regret profoundly, has furnished a striking example of the converse of such filial piety. When a young hon. attaché at Constantinople, her son, that fascinating and brilliant *preux chevalier*, Col. Aubrey Herbert, fell in love with the Albanians with all his romantic and enthusiastic being, and made the realization of Albanian independence and unity the master passion of his life. Albania is a wild land. Its people are back in the middle ages, and are mostly highlanders at that. His premature death in 1923 robbed them of one whom they had come to look on as their champion and their master just at the time when they most

needed him. No one, of course, could step into his place, and it is idle to speculate as to how much less chequered, if he had lived, might have been the story of the present young Albanian State. But old though she was, his mother determined to do what she could to take his place. She made Albania her second home, and devoted herself to carrying through some of his practical dreams. In particular, she set herself to help forward the beginnings of an Albanian system of education, and raised and spent much money in that cause. While all Albanians—*Shoiptar* is their own designation for their "nation"—have a strong consciousness of their nationality, their clans are roughly to be divided into three sets, which are even more mutually distinct than, *e.g.*, are the Croats from the Serbs. The Moslems or Arnauts are all over the country, but are preponderant especially in the centre. In the north are the Ghegs, who have remained very largely Christian, and, though still preserving some Orthodox marks, *e.g.*, in some places, they are said to communicate in both kinds, are Latins. In the Southern mountains are the Tosks, who are Orthodox, and together with the Greeks of the plains are in the jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarchate. Lady Carnarvon was particularly concerned about the Tosks, and devoted herself to establishing good schools for them and to equipping them with an educated clergy. Indeed, she died in Italy while on her way to push forward her favourite scheme of establishing a modern secondary Orthodox school as the precursor of an Orthodox Seminary in or near Tirana. We wonder whether there is a parallel of a woman of her age giving herself up to such a task and accomplishing so much as she accomplished.—R.I.P.

Since the Great War, Albania has had many governments, but they have all been desirous that the Orthodox Church in Albania should be an independent national church. As in Esthonia and other of the Baltic succession States, where the Orthodox are in a small minority, an autokephalous Albanian Church would be practically impossible, but the Œcumenical Patriarchate has recognized the legitimacy of the desire and has shown itself ready for the organization of its dioceses in Albania into an autonomous church, which for all purposes would be wholly national, and, having Albanian bishops, would employ Albanian as its liturgical language. The Tosks, *i.e.*, the Orthodox of Albanian blood, are as thoroughly devoted to Orthodoxy as is the large Greek minority within the present confines of Albania. If, as a curious and persistent rumour to which we have not noticed reference in the Press, asserts, King Ahmed Zogu is visioning the fusion of the Moslem Arnauts, the Latin Ghegs and the Orthodox Tosks, in a single Christian Church, he is likely to find it even harder to persuade the Ghegs to become Orthodox or the Tosks to become Latins, than the Moslem Arnauts to become Christians. Indeed, in

spite of centuries of apostasy, the last have never been assimilated thoroughly to Islam, and with the bankruptcy of the Moslem system in the Balkans, are undoubtedly ripening for conversion, however, the majority of them are Bekitashi Moslems, a sect of which is far from Orthodox Islam and very near Christianity.

Since the above was written, the Albanian Government have forcibly expelled the senior Orthodox Bishop of Albania, Mgr. Hierotheos of Korytsa, and several letters have appeared in the Press from the Archbishop of Thyatira and the Albanian Minister in London, H. E. Ekrem Beg. The high-handed action of the Albanian Government which has culminated in that violence began as follows: Before the War Albania was divided into four Orthodox dioceses, which formed part of the Œcumenical Patriarchate. Following its usual practice in regard to small and independent States in which the Orthodox are in a minority, the Patriarchate proposed that there should be an autonomous Church of Albania, only dependent on itself, as, *e.g.*, are the Churches of the Baltic Succession States. The Albanian Government was stirred up, however, by its ultra nationals and other interested parties to demand an autokephalous Orthodox Church for Albania. That the Patriarchate could not concede, and, if it had conceded it, the concession would certainly have been blamed by the other autokephalous churches. Much discussion ensued, and the Patriarchate set itself to placate the Albanian Government. Thus, though the Greek element is large in S. Albania, and predominates in wealth and culture, it replaced those of the Albanian bishops who were Greeks by Albanian born and Albanian speaking bishops, such as Mgr. Hierotheos, and it entered into a *concordat* by which the nomination of the Albanian bishops in future should depend on the wishes of the Albanian Government. It agreed also that an Albanian Holy Synod with autonomous powers should be constituted. Thus it hoped that it had secured peace for the Orthodox of Albania, and six months ago we thought that it had secured it. Politicians, however, are politicians, and the Albanian *intransigeants* got certain Slav bishops to consecrate two Albanians, not to any see, but simply in the air. And now the Government has suddenly declared those bishops to be the authorities of an autokephalous Albanian Church, has expelled or imprisoned the canonical bishops, and has bidden its Orthodox subjects renounce obedience to them and accept the intruders. It is often falsely said that the Orthodox Church is infected by the disease of interfering in politics. That is untrue. But it is true that the politicians in the Near East are infected by the disease of interfering in the affairs of the Church. In Albania, if schism comes, we shall see another verification that schism is nearly always the work of the politician and not of the theologian. Also, many ecclesiastical fishers are fishing in the troubled waters of Albania.

The fifth Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage to Jerusalem is due to leave London on Tuesday, April 2nd, and to arrive in the Holy City on Wednesday, April 10th. Dr. Kenneth Mackenzie, Lord Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, will be its leader, and it will be directed by its Secretary and the organizer of all the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimages to the Holy Land, the Rev. G. N. Whittingham. Canon Douglas will be among its members.

CHURCH OF GREECE.—THE SEAL OF THE CONFESSIONAL.—The Holy Synod having been asked if a priest, who had heard a criminal's confession before his execution, could be compelled to communicate any details so confessed, which might considerably facilitate the work of justice, replied directly and without any qualifications—as was proper—in the negative. It is a fortunate thing that an opportunity has been given to make widely known to the community that the inviolability of the seal of the Confessional is of essential canonical religious obligation. To act otherwise would be not only a grave religious transgression, but also a most destructive offence against Society.—*Ecclesia*.

SUNDAY SCHOOL MOVEMENT IN GREECE.—The Sunday School movement is making great progress in Greece. Sunday Schools have been opened in twelve churches in Athens, to supplement the inadequate time allotted to religious education in the day schools. The Metropolitan of Corfu has also promoted the starting of such schools in his diocese at three churches.

AN ANGLICAN AND EASTERN CHURCH SERVICE.—"An account in a Greek newspaper of a service held on the Areopagus by the Chaplain of the English Church in Athens, on January 25th, the Conversion of St. Paul, has reached me, and I think it may interest your readers to have an account of it.

"The Greek Church has for the last few years held a service on the eve of the festival of SS. Peter and Paul on June 29th on the Areopagus at Athens to commemorate the preaching of St. Paul to the Athenians.

The extract from the Greek paper says:

"A service of great devotion was held by the Chaplain of the English Church here on the anniversary of the Conversion to Christianity of St. Paul, on the Areopagus Rock, on January 25th.

"The Bishop of Naupactia, who represented the Greek Orthodox Church, also took part in the service, at which the English Chaplain officiated assisted by three of the naval chaplains from the British Fleet now here. The whole Rock was covered by the officers and the crews of the British Fleet, the members of the British Colony in Athens, and a great crowd of Athenians. The Bishop of Naupactia

read in Greek and the English Chaplain in English the passage in the Acts of the Apostles describing St. Paul's address to the Athenians. This was followed by prayers by an Anglican clergyman, and hymns were then sung to the accompaniment of the ship's band. The Bishop of Naupactia then gave an address in English on the significance of the festival."—E.K.

CHURCH OF SERBIA.—We learn from Belgrade that the Holy Synod of the Church of Serbia has concluded the drawing up of the Organic Statute of the Autokephalous Orthodox Church of Serbia, and has decided to reorganize the Orthodox Serbian Churches in the United States and Canada, placing them under two bishops, to be appointed from Belgrade, one for the U.S. and one for Canada.

CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA.—INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW CALENDAR.—The new Calendar has been introduced into the Patriarchate since October. The Bishop of Axum in Abyssinia has, however, received permission from the Patriarch and Synod to defer introducing it amongst the Greek Community there, in order to avoid complications with the Abyssinian Church, which observes the Old Style. The Russian Community in Alexandria has also received permission to continue observing the Old Style in their church there, on account of the difficult position of the Russian exiles at this time.—(From *Pantainos*, Nov. 22.)

CELEBRATION OF THE LITURGY OF ST. JAMES IN THE ISLAND OF ZANTE.—The following account from *Ecclesia* of the celebration of the ancient Liturgy of St. James in the island of Zante may be of interest to our readers. There are to-day only two places where this very ancient Liturgy is still celebrated on the Festival of St. James, namely, Jerusalem and Zante :—

" From information received from Zante, we learn that the divine Liturgy of St. James was celebrated in the central church of the city (All Saints). This church at its annual celebration of the memory of the Apostle, the brother of the Lord, celebrates this Liturgy on the first Sunday after his Feast Day, by authorization of a Patriarchal Letter of Timothy III. (1612–1621).

" This present year, consequently, it was celebrated on Sunday, Oct. 20th, with all possible solemnity and good order. The way in which everything was carried out evoked the admiration—especially of strangers—and the emotion of every devout listener. The Liturgy was celebrated by the priests, Nicholas Avouries (special preacher), the parish priest of the church, Dionysius Kombeses, the Rev. Dionysius Paulopoulos, and the deacon, Charalampus Kophenos. The lections from Holy Scripture were read from a movable pulpit, placed for this purpose in the centre of the church. Fr. Kombeses read the

XII Chap. of Exodus (v. 1–28) in which is described the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb. Fr. D. Paulopoulos read the Epistle (I Cor., xv. 1–22), and the deacon the Gospel for the day. After the lections the preacher, Fr. Avouries, mounted the movable pulpit and explained the passages which had been read, preaching on the Liturgy and in particular on the Mystery of the Divine Eucharist, which was foreshadowed under the Old Dispensation in the sacrifice of the Lamb. The whole service lasted two hours, and those who had attended it departed in peace, much impressed."—(*Ecclesia*, Nov. 10, p. 361.)

We are delighted to receive the new issue of *Apostolos Barnabas*, the official magazine of the Church of Cyprus, which, after having been in abeyance since 1923, resumed publication this January. The first number contained a pastoral from the pen of our patron, the Archbishop Cyril of Cyprus, who, while in England from 1919 to 1921, made many friends among us, and some scholarly articles, including one by Father Ierides, who, after studying as a deacon at Oxford, returned to Nicosia in 1925 and is doing good work on the Archbishop's staff. In his pastoral Archbishop Cyril urges the educated among his readers to read the fortnightly sermon which is a feature of the magazine, aloud in the coffee shops and other public places, so that the illiterate may be instructed and evangelized. We should like the weekly sermon in the *Church Times* also read likewise in our London public places of refreshment.

The refusal of the Soviet Government to afford him facilities has caused the Bishop of Fulham to postpone his proposed journey to Moscow.

The Russian Bishop Tikhon of Berlin, who adheres to the Karlowicz Synod, visited London in January.

Dr. Wigram, who has spent the winter in Mesopotamia and the Near East, purposes to make pilgrimage to Jerusalem for Easter. He was inducted into his stall in the Cathedral at Malta in November.

The Bishop of Fulham writes :—

"I have been much impressed by all I have seen of the work of the Church Mission to Jews in my jurisdiction. Having worked for some years in the East End of London I had been accustomed to see such work carried on against fierce antagonism with only comparatively rare conversions to Christianity. My experiences abroad have led me to believe that it is only in England that it is difficult to bring the Gospel message home to the Hebrew race. I do not mean that those splendid men working in Germany, Poland and elsewhere do

not have any difficulties, but they are greatly helped by an insistent spirit of enquiry. They are kept busy all day long by those who come to them, and their churches are so crowded that in Warsaw it was necessary to issue tickets for the services. It is wonderful work, as the Jew converted to Christianity makes the finest missionary the Christian Church can have. We should not be surprised at this when we remember the early history of the Church. I have noticed that when I have confirmed a single member of a family, the rest of the family frequently come forward for confirmation on the next opportunity. The Pauline spirit seems to be aroused in them, and they have a real enthusiasm for evangelization.

"The work, of course, has its difficulties, and the days of persecution are not yet over. Men, women and children have been cut off from family life and some have lost all the worldly goods they possessed, but in spite of this a very great work is being done, and many of the Hebrew race are finding the One who was not only to be a Light to lighten the Gentiles, but also 'the Glory of His people Israel.'"

The Rev. Michael Constantinidis, the Great Archimandrite of St. Sophia's Cathedral, London, has sent us the following letter:

To the Editor of the *Christian East*.

DEAR SIR,

It was stated recently in *The Tablet*, *The Catholic Herald* and *The Catholic Times*, that the Archbishop of Athens Chrysostom, is carrying on a persecution against the Uniates in Athens, in spite of the fact that they are entitled according to the Greek Constitution to exercise their religious duties freely.

These allegations are not true. It is a matter of fact that every religious body in Greece belonging to whatever Church fulfils its religious services in absolute freedom and without the smallest restriction from the State as well as from the Church of Greece.

But it is also true that proselytism and propaganda are strictly forbidden by the first article of the Greek Constitution. After the Asia Minor disaster a number of priests having at their head the Uniate Bishop Chalavassy, started a propaganda especially among refugees. The Uniates in Greece with those from Eastern Thrace and Asia Minor do not exceed three hundred or so in number. And yet for the religious needs of such a small number over seven priests with a Bishop went to Greece. The fact of their making a propaganda was officially established by an investigation carried on by the Press, and by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece. The Orthodox population of Athens was very much excited by these disclosures, and through their corporations and various religious societies claimed that the Greek government should proceed to the expulsion from Greece of the proselytizing Uniate body, which sows the seeds of division in the community.

The Archbishop of Athens and the Holy Synod over which he presides as guardians of the Orthodox faith in Greece thought it their duty to enter with the Greek government a strong protest against Uniate proselytism carried on to the détriment of the Faith, for which our forefathers shed their blood for many centuries. After this protest the Greek Government, according to the news received by the above-mentioned papers was forced to proceed to the closing of the Uniate Orphanage School in the Aharnon street in Athens.

We repeat that all the religious bodies in Greece enjoy an absolute freedom in exercising their religion. Roman Catholic, Church of England, and various Protestant communities have existed in Greece since its independence, and in every way enjoyed freedom of worship. But proselytism, which entails divisions in every community, is absolutely forbidden.

Yours sincerely,
MICHAEL CONSTANTINIDIS,
Great Archimandrite.

St. Sophia's Vicarage,
Moscow Road, Bayswater, W.2.

We rejoice, as an example of the many paragraphs which are appearing in the Press all over Europe, to reprint this paragraph from *The Times* of March 9th. Truly God prepares miracles, and we look for that triumph of the Cross in Russia over the enemies, whose failure is depicted in these words :

Riga, March 8th.

ANTI-GOD SOCIETY'S COMPLAINTS.—The Supreme Council for Political Education has held a special conference in Moscow to decide "what is wrong with the anti-Church front." The conference recorded that the Anti-God Society in many districts had "come to the end of its financial resources, and, in view of the unsympathetic atmosphere prevailing among the general public, no satisfactory mass movement to counter the advance of the churchmen can be developed."

The conference considered the complaint made by the Anti-God Society against "the literary men of the U.S.S.R.," who had been invited by the Society to instil fresh life into the anti-religious movement. Several writers accepted the proposal, but many declined. These refused to sign a special appeal presented to them for a great anti-religious rally, declaring that they had no clear idea of what it all meant.

A proposal was discussed to make greater use of the administrative machinery to combat the religious movement by dismissing all non-atheist officials from Government employ, and enforcing a rigid application of the rule to expel all believers from trade unions. Mme. Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, stated that experiments had already been

made in several establishments, but said that expulsion for religious convictions merely "gives to the expelled a martyr's aureole, producing results quite contrary to those desired." For this reason the conference postponed its decision and appointed a special commission to work out concrete proposals.

The conference confirmed the literary programme for 1929, instructing the Supreme Council for Political Education to publish 600,000 anti-religious pamphlets, five anti-religious albums (75,000 copies each), and a variety of other literature written in local dialects. The conference complained that the Anti-God Society now has only 250,000 members, whereas its Orthodox religious opponents to-day have about 50,000 churches, 500 monasteries, 350,000 "White" clergy, and 500,000 members of parish church councils, while the unorthodox sects have some 6,000,000 members, making 25,000 communities with several thousands of places of worship.

ARCHBISHOP GERMANOS ON ANGLICANISM.

By Canon J. A. Douglas, Ph.D.

To see ourselves as others see us is very wholesome, even when the observer is ill-informed and unsympathetic. But when he is as shrewd and competent, and withal is as well disposed towards us Anglicans and as versed in our affairs as is Archbishop Germanos of Thyatira, then we are wise to study carefully what he has to say about us, and ought to be grateful for the opportunity.

Accordingly, when *Orthodoxia*,[1] the official organ of the Œcumenical Patriarch, published a series of articles from him describing the final stages of the Revision of the Prayer Book and the controversies which accompanied its passage through our Convocations and the Church Assembly and its presentation to and rejection by Parliament in December, 1928, we read them with marked attention and salutary profit which have been redoubled by our study of them and by their reprinting in pamphlet form under the title of Ἀναθεώρησις τοῦ Νέου Εὐχολογίου Ἀγγλικανοῦ, *sc. The Recent Revision of the Anglican Prayer Book*, by the Patriarchal Press, Constantinople, 1928.

For the more part they present to their readers simply the narrative of that dramatic and historic struggle, in which, largely by his personal influence and in the face of an obscurantist and violently biased beating of the Protestant drum, Archbishop Davidson came very

[1] To conform with the orthography imposed by Ghazi Mustapha, it is now spelt Ortodoksia.

near to persuading the House of Commons, and did persuade the House of Lords, to approve that Revision of the Prayer Book which the State itself had invited and commissioned our Episcopate to undertake, and which undoubtedly represented the considered judgment not only of our Bishops, but of the great majority of the clergy and laity of the Church of England as to what was necessary in order to appease the conflicts of opinion among us, to further solidarity in our Church life and work, and in some measure to bring our *lex orandi et credendi* up to the requirements of the Twentieth Century.

Archbishop Germanos is no stranger to us. Even when he arrived in London in 1922 to take up his office as Exarch of the Œcumenical Patriarchate and as its aprokrisarios to our Archbishop, he was as familiar with England and with the King's English as book knowledge and assiduous study could make him. Since then he has been immersed in the atmosphere of our national, and especially of our religious life. If he does not understand us, no-one ever will. Moreover, he is instinct with goodwill towards us Anglicans, and, as witness the paper which he read last autumn to our Church Congress at Cheltenham, and which is printed in the present issue, even where formidable obstacles are pointed out to him, he remains an optimist in regard to Anglican and Orthodox Re-union, and maintains sturdily the ultimate possibilities of our movement.

None the less, he is not of those who imagine that formal Anglican-Orthodox Intercommunion can rightly be reached *per saltum*. He is prepared to make any concession that can be made without compromise of Orthodox principles, and he is eager to make it. But he is quite plain and definite as to what are the principles of Orthodoxy—and progressive, modern-minded man that he is, and devoted though he be to the great socio-religious movements of the day, he holds fast with conscience and conviction to those principles as to a rock—and neither for the great end of Re-union itself, nor for its fruitful results in Christianizing the twentieth-century world, is he ready to contemplate an *Unio haud vera* of the Ferrara–Florence kind at the price of veiling a compromise in ambiguous phrases. On the contrary, he is of those—and very humbly we crave leave to range ourselves alongside of him—who believe that the general cause of Christian Re-union and the other great causes which are involved in it, the evangelization of the heathen at home and abroad, the Christianization of social and economic civilized life, the rolling back of materialism and of the godlessness which enterprises the reconstitution of human life on the basis of purely materialistic and naturalistic categories, is best to be served by logical thinking on first principles. He knows that if, as happens even in our day, when their knees are under the same table with us at Conferences, Orthodox delegates make concessions and burk essential issues, they will be repudiated at home, and that in the issue he will better subserve the

cause which we all have at heart, and will manifest himself as our truer friend by telling us frankly and remorselessly what may be unpalatable truths than if he did as do some of the lesser Orthodox theologians who have attended Conferences, such as those of Stockholm and Lausanne, and are fêted in Anglican and Liberal Evangelical circles in England and on the Continent, and speaking smooth things declared the circle to be easily squared.[1]

In other words, while he misses no occasion to speak the attractive word and to do the kindly thing, he makes no bones about pointing out that as the Orthodox Church is now, and as the Anglican Church is now, their Re-union is not possible. For him as for the whole Orthodox solidarity, Re-union is unthinkable except on the basis of full dogmatic agreement. He tried to make that clear at Lausanne in 1927, when, unpleasant though the task was, he did not shirk reading a blunt reasoned Declaration to the Faith and Order Conference to the effect[2] that he and his Orthodox colleagues must disassociate themselves from all its Reports except the first. And he was at no small pains at the Cheltenham Church Congress last autumn to point the same moral in other form.

In all that, he is, of course, well aware that *more suo* the intolerant and well-informed Modernist or Liberal Evangelical will pronounce him—a certain Dr. Barton, a congregationalist, I understand, of the very American variety, actually did so almost *ipsissimis verbis*—to be an anachronism, a mediævalist whisked into our wonderful, progressive, egocentric era. As a matter of fact, he happens to have studied at Lausanne and other very up-to-date European Universities, and is himself as thoroughly a scientific theologian and twentieth century man of the world as is Dr. Streeter or Dr. Deissmann. Only he believes his religion, and can be untrue neither to his individual experience of it in his inner life nor to the traditional position of Eastern Orthodoxy. No doubt he is no less well aware—it may be surmised that maybe he is even better aware than are the American and other Protestants who are insistent on reforming the Orthodox Church out of itself and into their own likeness—of just what are the weak points of Orthodoxy to-day, of where it needs to be vivified and awakened in order that it may be able to appropriate the discoveries of modern science, thought and criticism, and readjusting itself to handle the problems which confront it in general, to address itself to its vocation to christianize the natural lives of its people in

[1] The teaching of the ancient Church of the first eight centuries, free from every question which did not have a direct relation to those things which were to be believed, must to-day also constitute the basis of the re-union of the Churches. The soundness of this basis has been universally recognized in the discussions on re-union which in past years have taken place between Orthodox, Old Catholics and Anglicans. I may be permitted to say that no true Orthodox theologian would be found to deviate from this principle, and to enter upon a discussion of subjects which, according to his convictions, have already been decided, except where such a discussion has for its sole purpose the justification of the Faith held by his Church. Archbishop Germanos at the Lausanne Conference, *Faith and Order*, London, 1928, pp. 21, 22.

[2] For the text of the Declaration, see *Christian East*, 1927, pp. 147.

particular. But assuredly he is altogether unwilling to treat the Orthodox Faith as an open question. He believes in it for himself, and he knows that while once it were thrown into the melting pot, Orthodox life and solidarity would disintegrate, the residuary legatee of the Orthodox Church would certainly be neither Rome nor Evangelicalism, but either a materialistic agnosticism with purely naturalistic categories or a positive and aggressive atheism of the Bolshevik Marxian type. If the speculation be a pardonable liberty, he might be expected to say, that while Orthodox *theologoumena*, *e.g.*, doctrinal explications of dogma are altogether open to restatement and to development, Orthodox *dogmata* are of the essence of the Faith, and as such are incapable of restatement or development except by an Œcumenical Council. But in making that avowal, he would almost certainly be found to add that even in the region of *theologoumena*, there must be no sudden and challenging transformation of form and content. As the Russian Khomiakov used to put it, the Church is far more than the custodian of an unalterable deposit of belief, or even than a guide into unchangeable truth. She is illumined by the Holy Spirit, and is the Body of Christ. As such she is the organism of Hope and of Life. Assuredly shipwreck of her divinely revealed Faith must not be made ; for in itself heresy is a disease and a disaster. But to insist upon addition, diminution, or innovation upon the tradition of Faith even if it is not a sin against the Truth, is certainly a grievous sin against Love : for to tell your brother that he is wrong and that you, being right, intend to pluck the mote out of his eye, is to copy the egocentricism of Lucifer and to infringe the unity which is in Christ. Therefore, while he would not only not deny but would avow the desirability of progress in regard to everything within the region of Orthodox *theologoumena*—*e.g.*, he would probably approve Dr. Androutsos' view that the proved results of the Higher Criticism's interpretations of Holy Scripture ought to be accepted, and are in no way precluded—he would almost certainly contend that in the readjustment of the Form and Content of Orthodoxy to modern conclusions and to the *zeitgeist*, the principle of a tender solicitude for the consciences—the prejudices, if you will—of others should be predominant over intellectual assumptions and tendencies, and that, whatever the individual thinker may think, he should adjust his opinions to the common outlook and way of life of his brethren, and should not pose as their corrective, but should rather make himself "all things" to them. In other words, he would have the advanced and progressive Western Christian be first and foremost helpful and constructive and not destructive to Orthodoxy, would have him get that beam out of his own eye which makes him self-satisfied, superior and hustling, and maintain the bond of love even at the expense of patience with that which he neither understands nor likes.

Accordingly, since while he is a zealot for Re-union alike for its own sake and for the practical consequences which it must bring, and while he is prepared for dynamic evolution in the form and content of Orthodoxy, he cannot compromise upon its principles, his narrative of the history of our attempt at Prayer Book Revision is necessarily a human document and peculiarly illuminating. If it is quite true that for the more part that narrative does no more than record events, none the less in its analysis of the forces which made for the legalization of the Composite Book or against it, it reveals the anxious watchfulness and is replete with the shrewd observations of one who is interested not so much in the result of that controversy as in the issues which produced it. The study of his brochure will leave the reader in doubt as to whether Archbishop Germanos regretted the final rejection of our Revised Prayer Book by Parliament—probably he did regret it—but it will leave him in no doubt that as he watched the stages of the controversy upon it in our own ecclesiastical bodies, *i.e.*, in Convocation and the Church Assembly, and in the country, *e.g.*, in the Dioceses and in our secular press, he was continually seeking for indications as to how far the Church of England is a Church with which the Orthodox Church can unite or indeed can be in close brotherly relations.

That, although he had studied Anglicanism by book for over 20 years before he came to London in 1921, and though since then he has had a rare immersion in the atmosphere of our Church life, not only in daily contacts but also through his free access to our inner ecclesiastical circles, his analysis of the various and often conflicting "schools of thought," "tendencies," and "sections" which present themselves to the student of the complex of our English religious life should need rectification in its details is necessarily inevitable. The wisest and most judicial estimate of it which the most impartial among ourselves could achieve would not approve itself to us all! But the picture which he gives is on the whole amazingly good, and if it needs correction here and there, and if it needs supplement, it is neither angular nor distorted. Thus, it is out of perspective, *e.g.*, when

(i) it classifies, p. 24, the Bishop of Birmingham and our extremely aggressive Modernists—we imagine that our historic Evangelicals would be as indignant as Dr. Barnes would be startled at the identification, and that both would repudiate it sharply—as an extreme offshoot of our Evangelical party;

or (ii) when, by overlooking the fact that a considerable section of moderate High Churchmen was averse—and no less averse than Anglo-Catholics—not to the introduction of an Epiklesis in the revised Canon, but to the position assigned it after the words of Institution at which it is customary among us to hold that the Consecration takes place, he misconstrues their opposition in that matter by inferring

(p. 18) that it was motived by a dislike to an approximation to the Eastern Liturgies and a differentiation from the Roman Catholic Church. In fact, the romanesque among us are an exiguous and relatively insignificant section, and for the more part critics of the Epiklesis in the revised Canon among High Churchmen were either old-fashioned Anglicans or liturgiologists.

These and similar relatively trivial misapprehensions being rightly ignored, I venture to appreciate the *imponderabilia* of the Metropolitan's exposition of our Prayer Book Revision controversy as making it unique in intuition and in constructive sympathy towards the approximation of Eastern Orthodoxy and Anglicanism. Where it states an emphatic *non possumus*, there is no unkindness in that statement. On the contrary, the Archbishop is governed always by that golden rule of theological discussions: "When the conditions of conference are polemical, emphasize agreements. But when charity and mutual attractions prevail precise your disagreements." Until you do so you will not know what you have to reconcile, and if you do not do so you will suddenly find yourself in controversy when you imagined that you were near striking hands.

For example, taking as his text the present Archbishop of York, Dr. Lang's, declaration in his speech in the Church Assembly on February 7th, 1927, that the Composite Book was based not on *compromise* but *comprehension*, he says (p. 18) under the title of "The Conflict of Parties in the Church over the New Prayer Book," "There will be no need to give a further description after what has been said in *Orthodoxia* (No. 17, p. 194) about the parties which exist in the Anglican Church, and which Anglicans designate as 'schools of thought' or 'elements of religious life,' or 'different aspects of one and the same truth,' which for every impartial judge are nothing other than radically inconsistent convictions in regard to questions which at least from the Orthodox point of view are essential. These parties, to which as I have said above, the Archbishops made frequent reference, are in effect two in number, the Evangelical or Protestant Party and the Catholic or Anglo-Catholic. Further and over and above these, there have developed particularly in recent years on the one hand the Modernist Party, as an offshoot of the former, and as having some continuity with the old Broad Church Party, and, on the other hand, the Romanizing Party, which represents the extreme of Anglo-Catholicism and in a measure corresponds to the Modernist. By the avowal of the Archbishops we know that the views of the Evangelical, the Catholic and the Modernist parties were taken into consideration in the compilation of the New Prayer Book, and that an attempt was made as far as possible to satisfy all three of them for the sake of the comprehensiveness of the Anglican Church. Anglicans habitually avoid the usage of the term *compromise* as designating concession in regard to two or three opinions, and prefer the term *comprehensive-*

ness. The majority of the Bishops hold that their Church has possessed this peculiar characteristic since the days of the Reformation, and regard it not as a defect but as a good quality. In order to understand this term, we must think of the significance which so-called *theologoumena*[1] possess among us, only with this difference, that theological opinions in the Anglican Church are not concerned as among us simply with matters as to which no precise doctrine is found in Revelation, but as to which there exists clear doctrine either in Holy Scripture or in Apostolic Tradition. Thus, *e.g.*, during the recent Eucharistic controversy which an inopportune exhibition of free thought on the part of the Bishop of Birmingham had kindled, it was demonstrated that in the Anglican Church the right to be is equally justified of the receptionist, *i.e.*, of those who admit the existence there of the Body and Blood of Christ only for those who receive Him with faith, and of the followers of the doctrine of the Real Presence, *i.e.*, of those who accept their objective existence independently of the recipient. Moreover, over and above these chief categories, there are wanting neither those who defend transubstantiation nor those who are partisans of Calvinistic doctrine as to the Sacrament—nor, indeed, of the extreme liberal point of view that the Holy Eucharist is simply bread and wine which we receive in memory of the Saviour. It would be futile for the Orthodox to wish to get at the heart of the secret of this Comprehensiveness, inasmuch as it is inseparably connected with a religious consciousness and mentality which are the product of long centuries of conflict between the two elements in the Anglican Church, from which neither has emerged conqueror, and which have rendered it necessary that they should become tolerant each of the other, and should live together in order that a specifically Anglican Church should exist at all. In truth that this Comprehensiveness approximates rather to Protestant principles, and became possible both through the Reformation which the Anglican Church accepted and owing to the way in which it accepted it, is quite plain. Comprehensiveness of such a kind is something incomprehensible to anyone who finds himself outside its orbit."

All round reflection upon what Archbishop Germanos has to say about us to the Orthodox and to ourselves induces two conclusions.

The first is not so chilling as *prima facie* it would appear. It is that as the Orthodox Church is to-day with its strict insistence upon its traditional dogmatic position, and as it views the Anglican Church of to-day with its "comprehensiveness," full corporate Re-union is not thinkable. That conclusion, however, is far from slamming the door upon Re-union in the near future, as it is slammed between us and Rome. Nothing would appear more outside all possibility

[1] i.e., theological opinions, as to which men may differ, as contrasted with dogmas, which they must accept.

than that in these latter days the Orthodox Church will recast her dogma, her doctrine and her life, by an overt Reformation. On the other hand, if she is " unreformed " and must remain " unreformed " or break up, she is not cumbered by the accretions of a scholastic period. Give her time—and the water flows very quickly nowadays down the Bosphorus—and without changing a whit her identity with the past, she will readjust her outlook to meet her present-day needs. The process of that evolution is already observable. Soon it will be quick, and when it has become marked, the stark lines of difficulty which at present make Orthodox and Anglican Re-union impracticable, will shift and be softened. So that, given a similar and converse change in our own complex, such as the Archbishop postulated in his paper at Cheltenham,[1] the situation will become increasingly favourable.

The second is this. We do not quarrel with the Archbishop's description of Anglican Comprehensiveness as incomprehensible to a non-Anglican. He himself is manifestly dissatisfied with the only explanation of it which he can find, viz., our necessity to live together, if there is to be an Anglican Church at all, but none the less he is clearly conscious that there is an unknown factor which, if apprehended, would make it comprehensible. That factor is that, while as between the Anglican Catholic and Evangelical, the differences of belief in reality are more on the surface than he imagines, they are knit together by a common spiritual life, by common spiritual experiences, by common inspiration and vocations, and above all by common love. The solidarity of a family is often obscured for an outsider by the sharp words spoken during a quarrel, and the period during which he has been getting our atmosphere, has been that of our Prayer Book Revision controversy. During that contention we have no doubt exhibited ourselves at our worst. Our verbal differences have been sharpened and our conflicts of doctrine maximized. No doubt our Romanizers and Modernists are fundamentally divided from the rest of us, but the distinctions among the great mass of Anglicans are superficial and not fundamental. It is true, certainly, that when crises of controversy arise, our Evangelicals and Catholics become very precise, *e.g.*, as to the doctrine of Eucharist. But in practice and normally they forget all about their differences, communicate side by side and look for and obtain the same experiences in the reception of the Eucharist. Indeed, when they forget technical terms and exchange confidences with each other in spiritual intimacy, they use much the same language, for they are describing the same thing. Of course, there are differences between them which approach to being fundamental. But they are not nearly so great in themselves as their terminologies, derived from bygone centuries of party strife, lead the

[1] See p. 20.

outsider to conceive. In fact, we Anglicans are a *bloc*, a graded solidarity in belief of which either extreme might snap off, but of which the main body is almost incapable of schism. In our controversies we Anglicans still hit hard and emphasize our disagreements—it is our national habit—so that the onlooker judges by what we say rather than by what we are. The Anglican complex, as indeed the whole English religious complex, is changing very rapidly. Where 30 years ago we religious folk were divided into parties, the cleavages of which touched public and private life throughout the nation, and influenced our politics greatly, we are now drawn together to form a common front against an aggressive materialistic atheism which aims at destroying everything dear to us. There is no bite nowadays in a Chapel *versus* Church campaign, and may be the Protestant drum gave its last rather feeble, if so far as the Revision of the Prayer Book goes fatal, reverberation at Sir Joynson Hicks' manipulation last year. At any rate, nothing is more certain than that fifty, and maybe only ten years hence, to set the public by the ear over a controversy between Evangelical and Catholic on the doctrine of the Sacrament of Love and Unity will be as hard as it would be to-day to set it by the ears over a controversy upon Baptismal Regeneration. The craving to get together *ut unum sint* is upon us, and we are all eager to set about the christianization of English life and the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven among the nations. What we need is a religious Esperanto into which we can translate our party doctrinal terminologies. As with the Orthodox, so with us. Things are moving quickly. When by God's goodness we Anglicans achieve that Esperanto, we shall find that our differences belong to that region of *theologoumena*, *i.e.*, of doctrinal opinions, as to which Archbishop Germanos predicates permissibility, and our domestic controversies will disappear in the realization of our unity of principle, *i.e.*, of faith and experience in the Lord Jesus as our personal Saviour, and in His Church as the covenanted medium and extension of His Grace. If, as we may be very sure they will, the Orthodox, while retaining their tradition and their character, advance also in their evolution, they will meet us and we shall understand each other. We and they will discover that we mean the same thing, and that our faith and our life are of a piece, and their and our Re-union will be instinctive and irresistible. But until that consummation presents itself we should sin against the light if we attempted to antedate it. *Festina lente* must be our motto. The rainbow of hope is very bright and many coloured. But optimism must neither shirk labour nor rebel at inevitable delay. Accordingly, we are grateful to the Archbishop for his frank speech, and we cannot show our gratitude better than by expressing our concurrence with him that as things are, Anglican and Orthodox Re-union is not above the horizon. Never-

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theless, Anglicans and Orthodox draw nearer and nearer together, work together, pray together, and are good to each other. In the end, without compromise, a rightful Comprehensiveness, we believe, will bring them together into full Communion, and they will find that they have all along been altogether one in the One Lord and in His One Church.

PROGRESS TOWARDS THE RE-UNION OF THE ORTHODOX AND THE ANGLICAN CHURCHES.

By the Most Rev. Archbishop Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyatira.

I feel I must address a few words of thanks to His Lordship the Bishop of Gloucester for affording me the opportunity of putting before you the position of the relations between the Orthodox and the Anglican Communions from the Orthodox point of view.

This report, while it will, I am sure, fill your hearts with hopes for the future of these relations, will, on the other hand, show how long the road still is which will have to be travelled before these relations can terminate in the desired end—that is to say, the reunion of these two Communions. What was needed in order successfully to cultivate these relations was that they should be put on a sound basis, as a starting-point from which to proceed slowly but surely to the end in view. And the honour of finding this basis is due, as all are agreed, to the venerable Primate of the Anglican Church, Dr. Randall Davidson, who, from his deep love for the much tried Churches of Eastern Christendom, has found this starting-point in a mutual *rapprochement* between these two Churches. This initiative, which received a grateful recognition by the Orthodox Church, rekindled in her also the desire for re-union, and has been instrumental in denoting the right spirit in which the existing differences between the two Churches must be discussed. May I be allowed therefore, as representing the Orthodox Church in this country, to express at the beginning a respectful greeting to His Grace for all his labours in the work of *rapprochement* and mutual understanding between both our Churches.

I

The Two Churches in the Remote Past.

What interests us principally is the aspect which the relations between the two Churches have assumed during the last years. Nevertheless, it must not be supposed that the relations between the two Churches began only yesterday. His Grace the Archbishop of Wales, in his address some time ago to the two Patriarchs of the East, Alexandria and Jerusalem, reminded them of the relations already existing between the Church of Wales and the Eastern

Churches. He also emphasized the point that from the East came the first missionaries, who founded the Church of Wales, and in support of this mentioned the fact that even after the establishment of the Archbishopric of Canterbury by Saint Augustine (who came from Rome in A.D. 596) the Church in Wales continued to be independent, and that many years passed before the complete assimilation between the two parts of the Anglican Church took place. And what is true of the Church of Wales is true also of the Church of Ireland, in which the first to preach the Gospel were Greeks from Asia Minor. Although it cannot be proved whether these missionaries came from Lyons, where the two disciples of Polycarp of Smyrna, Pothinos and Irenæus, worked, or from Marseilles, which had close commercial ties with Britain.

Moreover, however much the Greek Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus (A.D. 669), owed his missionary work in this country to the initiative of the Pope of Rome, he never ceased to belong, both by descent and culture, to the East. It is, therefore, only right that we should accept the fact that while organizing the Church of England, he followed both the principles and traditions which he had learnt in the East. "The Church of England," says the historian Green, "as we know it to-day is the work of a Greek monk"; and Trevelyan says, "The Archbishop Theodore stands out as perhaps the greatest Prince of the Church in all English history."

We must pass on a long way in the centuries in order to find a new *rapprochement* between the two Churches—to the time when the Church of England, after emancipation from Rome, appears as an Independent Church. It is at the time of Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch of Alexandria (1602-21) and later of Constantinople. Without entering here into a detailed examination of the convictions of this Patriarch, we can say the following. Although the assertion of Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, is true, that the Orthodox Church did not recognize Cyril as a heretic Patriarch, it is apparent from surviving letters of his (Cyril's) to different personalities in the West and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Abbot, that such was the case. Moreover, it is well known that Metrophames Critopoulus, who for five years studied at Oxford as a ward of Abbot and succeeded Cyril on the throne of Alexandria, did not hesitate to sign his condemnation at the Synod of Constantinople, in 1638. The Calvinistic Confession by Cyril Lucaris which appeared in the West, and which provoked great trouble in the Church of the East during the seventeenth century, not only did not contribute to the tightening of the bonds of friendship between the two Churches, as was foreshadowed in the correspondence between Cyril and Abbot, but had a contrary effect on the Orthodox Church by arousing doubts and suspicions. And when Dr. Woodroffe, an ardent advocate of the unity of Christendom, addressed himself to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Callinicus II, asking him to send students to the Greek College at Oxford, of which he was the Principal, the Patriarch disregarded his request. The widespread idea that the Orthodox Church had become

Calvinistic made the Patriarchs very reserved in their relations with the Anglicans, especially where there was a question of the education of Orthodox young men at English Universities.

Despite all this, the Eastern Patriarchs did not disregard the overtures made to them by the Non-Jurors regarding reunion. These negotiations cannot be said to have been conducted between the two Churches, since the Non-Jurors were in schism with the Church of England, and as soon as this became known, from a letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Wake, to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Chysanthos (1725), they were broken off. But the correspondence, and especially the answers given by the Patriarchs of the East to the questions put by the Non-Jurors, are of extreme interest, as having been given on the supposition that these represented the whole Church of England. Thus, the Patriarchs not only did not question the impossibility of the creation of an Independent Anglican Church, but, on the contrary, supported this idea. They agreed that the Anglicans should retain their own customs, and declared themselves ready to approve of the Anglican Liturgy, provided it was Orthodox. Likewise, they accepted the explanation given, that the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son does not mean that the Son is the active cause of the existence of the Holy Ghost, but is only of the sending forth of the Holy Ghost through the Son to the world, and praised their decision to communicate the Elements in both kinds, and their acceptance of the other Sacraments. The Orthodox Patriarchs, however, refuted the opinion that the decisions of the seven Œcumenical Councils have not the same authority as Scripture, and insisted upon the Non-Jurors giving honour to the Virgin and the Saints, paying reverence to their Eikons and believing in their intercession. But the Patriarchs were adamant on the question of Transubstantiation, because the struggle in the East against Calvinistic teaching of the Holy Eucharist was very recent. Therefore they added the Synodical decision of 1691, under the Patriarch Dionysios, and the Synodical reply which was sent through the Chaplain of the British Legation, J. Covel (1672), to the Philhellenes of Great Britain who asked what was the teaching of the Eastern Church on the Sacraments, and especially on the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. In their second answer to the Non-Jurors, the Patriarchs, through the Holy Synod of Russia, sent the Confession of Dositheos to them as a basis on which reunion might be accomplished.

A century and a half later we find a fresh contact between the heads of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. Gregory VI, Patriarch of Constantinople, on the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Archibald Campbell, in a Synodical Encyclical which he sent to all the Metropolitans in 1869, ordered that all Anglicans who die in places where there do not exist Anglican cemeteries should be buried in the Orthodox cemeteries, and by Orthodox priests, and he likewise ordered a special service to be drawn up to be used on such occasions. However insignificant

this concession seems to-day, it is, nevertheless, the first step towards the *rapprochement* of the Churches in a purely Ecclesiastical matter. The visit of the Archbishop of Syros and Tenos, Alexander Lycourgos, to England in 1870 gave rise not only to immediate intercourse between himself and Anglican Bishops, but also to theological conversations, which enlightened him regarding the existing points of agreement and disagreement between the two Churches. Of greater importance from a dogmatic point of view was the meeting between Anglicans and Orthodox at the reunion Congresses held at Bonn in 1874-5, on the initiative of the Old Catholics. Although at these Congresses complete agreement was not reached on the debated points, the important points must not be overlooked on which agreement was reached. The outstanding point of the famous "Filioque" Clause, about which much has been written in the past, after close historical examination at these Congresses, was so elucidated as to make the agreement reached there the starting-point of agreement in later discussions. As a basis of this agreement, there was laid down the teaching of the Fathers of the Undivided Church, especially that of St. John Damascene, in which the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father through the Son. Important also is the common acceptance at these Congresses of the ancient Creeds and the Dogmatic decisions of the Undivided Church, as by this acceptance a firm basis was made for future discussions on the questions separating the Churches one from the other.

The visit of the late Right Reverend Bishop of Salisbury, John Wordsworth, and especially his meeting with the Patriarch of Constantinople, Constantine V (1897-1900), still further strengthened the bonds between the two Churches. A Committee appointed by the Œcumenical Patriarchate, consisting of the Great Vicar and the Keeper of the Archives, undertook to collaborate with the English Archdeacon Dowling in order to enlighten the Orthodox on the teaching of the Anglican Church. The result of this collaboration is to be found in the answers which were given by the Bishop of Salisbury to questions put by the Orthodox members of the Committee, referring to the points under discussion.

II

The Two Churches at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.

A fresh and more interesting development is presented in the relations between the two Churches, especially from the beginning of the twentieth century, and during and after the Great War. While hitherto the relations between the two Churches were confined to a more formal manner, and the discussions bore a purely academic character, the Great War brought a great change both in the relations and the discussions. The reasons which brought about these changes are the following: The sympathy shown by the venerable Anglican Church towards the much-tried Christians

of the East by raising her voice for justice and liberation of the enslaved Christian people moved the leaders of the Orthodox Church profoundly and filled with gratitude the hearts of the Orthodox nations. This reason, however unrelated it may appear to be to the question of the reunion of the Churches, was the psychological reason for a closer contact, better knowledge and friendly understanding between the Churches, which constituted the sound reason for the change. Distinguished members of the Orthodox Church belonging to the different Autokephalous Churches of the East visited England and America, where they studied and obtained a deep knowledge of the life of the Anglican Communion, entered into discussions with its members, eliminated misunderstanding and dispelled doubts. The presence of the then Metropolitan of Athens and present Patriarch of Alexandria, Meletius, accompanied by distinguished Orthodox theologians such as the present Archbishop of Athens, Chrysostom, and Professor Alivisatos, and the serious discussions with Anglican theologians, first in America and then in England, as well as the agreement arrived at on many of these points, revived the hopes of reunion between the Churches. Orthodox theologians also from Serbia and Rumania, who visited England and got to know the Anglican Church, returned home carrying with them the idea that the gulf separating the two Churches must not be considered impassable.

The Encyclical published by the Œcumenical Patriarchate in 1920, by which all the Churches of Christ were summoned to form a League of Churches and collaborate on moral and social questions in which all the Churches were interested, cannot be, of course, considered as an attempt at reunion in the strict meaning of the word. No one will, however, deny that reunion was the object which was really intended by the lines of the Encyclical. The Patriarch, in acknowledging that the existing differences and prejudices could not at once be removed, proposed the brotherhood and co-operation of the Churches as being the safest means which "will prepare and facilitate the complete and blessed Union which may some day be obtained with God's help."

But what has really contributed to the strengthening of the relations between the two Churches is undoubtedly the invitation given by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Randall Davidson, to the Œcumenical Patriarchate to send a delegation of Orthodox theologians and clergy in order to discuss with the Committee appointed by the Lambeth Conference the dogmatic questions which separate the two Churches. It appears from the report submitted that the discussion was not confined only to Baptism, Chrism (Confirmation), the Holy Eucharist, the seventh Œcumenical Council, the validity of Anglican Orders, and certain questions of Canon Law on marriage, with which the Committee from Athens and the Serbian and Rumanian theologians had been occupied, but that it was widened to include other matters. Thus, the teaching on tradition, the Creeds, and especially the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, with the "Filioque" Clause, the sym-

bolical books of the Anglican Church, that is to say, the Thirty-nine Articles and the Prayer Book, the Sacraments of Marriage, Penance and Unction, the state of the departed in Christ and their connection with the Church Militant, were also subjects of discussion. And the enumeration only of the subject shows that the importance of discussion was such as to justify us in insisting further on this discussion.

In this debate the delegation recognized the validity of Baptism as performed by Anglican priests, also of Confirmation as performed by the Bishops by the laying on of hands; but they insisted that Chrism should immediately follow Baptism, while the catechizing of the newly-baptized should be postponed until they were older. It is of special interest that the Patriarchal delegation insisted upon the Anglicans recognizing the Holy Eucharist as being of a sacrificial character, and the introduction of the Epiclesis of the Holy Spirit as necessary for the change of the Holy Elements; also that the wafer bread should be changed for leavened bread, specially prepared, and that the wine should be mixed with water. Despite these, the term Transubstantiation was happily eliminated, as the delegation confined itself to the terms, Change (μεταδοχὴ) and Transformation (μεταποιήσις), by which the true meaning of the term is given and misunderstandings are avoided. About the validity of Anglican orders, which constituted an important matter of discussion both in itself and in relation to the valid performance of the other Sacraments, the delegation reserved its own personal opinion, and left it to the study and decision of the official body of the Church. While the delegation remained satisfied because the Anglicans accepted the decision relating to Eikons of the seventh Œcumenical Council, and recognized the Nicene Creed as really œcumenical, it is aware of the opposition manifested by the Anglicans for the elimination of the anti-canonically added "Filioque" Clause.

The delegation took into consideration the declaration by the Anglicans that the Thirty-nine Articles are not articles of Faith, but are articles of confession connected with the established character of the Church, and expressed the opinion that, as their abolition is impossible if the Church is not to be separated from the State, only an amendment of these articles by the competent authorities would be possible. When the Anglicans declared that the Prayer Book contained the true teaching of the Anglican Church, on the basis of the principle of *Lex orandi, Lex credendi*, the delegation accepted this as being a more favourable starting-point of understanding, inasmuch as it was said that the imminent revision of the Prayer Book would show a more Catholic emphasis. On both sides a marriage performed in cases of necessity by a priest of either Communion is recognized; the Orthodox gave explanations as to auricular confession in the Orthodox Church, and the object of the Sacrament of Unction. The delegation mentions the impression created by the declaration made by the Anglicans, that prayers for the dead are in use now in the Anglican Church, and that their use is becoming more general by

permission of the Bishops. But in exposing the above, the delegation does not pass it over without some criticism. Thus, in seeking the reason for which the Anglican insists upon having intercommunion in cases of necessity as being a preparatory step towards a fuller inter-communion, despite the existing differences in faith, it finds this reason in the following: The Anglicans have a wider conception of the Church which is to the Orthodox incomprehensible. And the delegation adds: that the hopes it has derived from the conversation with the competent Committee have been greatly reduced by the Appeal issued by the Lambeth Conference to all Christian people. According to the delegation, the terms offered by this Appeal for a re-united Church are terms which suit their own conditions more than ours. "Their own religious and ecclesiastical conditions lead them to propose to the Non-Episcopal Churches terms which are in opposition to our principles and system." Therefore the delegation says that after their sojourn in England they are persuaded that the "Communio in Sacris," without a previous agreement on dogma, is not the road which leads to the safe and saving reunion of our churches. Nevertheless, the delegation, in praise of the zeal of the "Anglicans, considers it a duty of the Orthodox to continue" contributing in every way to the success of such a work, agreeable to God, as the Union of the Churches, convinced that the all-powerful hand of God will, in time, take away all difficulties and will bring about a work which will be a blessing for Christendom and of the greatest advantage to mankind.

From what has already been said, it is evident how important was the presence of the Patriarchal delegation in London. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in answer to the *locum tenens* of the Patriarchate, assured him that the delegation gave "a fresh strong life to the mutual friendly relations of the two Churches," while the Lambeth Conference estimates as great the help given by the delegation to its Committee of Bishops, and finally that Committee acknowledges that "presence in London of a Patriarchal delegation was of the greatest importance, as many important questions, both doctrinal and practical, were discussed at it." And although this Committee thinks that we are advancing firmly towards the object of final reunion, still it adds: "There is still much to be accomplished, that we need to know better and understand the position of each other. That from both sides explanations are necessary in order that, when the day should come for proposing Sacramental Inter-Communion, they should rest, on both sides, on principles of *broad toleration;* and the readiness also of each Church to confine itself to its own practices and customs, not insisting upon the other complying with them."

The presence in London of this Patriarchal delegation had as a result the decision of the Holy Synod in Constantinople, under the Presidency of the Patriarch Meletius, to acknowledge the validity of Anglican Orders. Professor Comnennos on his return to Constantinople considered it wise to devote himself to the study of this

question and published a special treatise on Anglican Orders. The conclusions arrived at in his treatise, which were taken into consideration by the permanent Committee on the relations between the two Churches, suggested to the Holy Synod the acknowledgment of the validity of Anglican Orders. The Synod, in acknowledging the validity of these Orders, communicated its decision to the other Autokephalous Churches in an Encyclical, and in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. In this letter the Patriarch says: "The Holy Synod has concluded that as before the Orthodox Church the ordinations of the Anglican Episcopal Confession of Bishops, priests and deacons possess the same validity as those of the Roman Old Catholic and Armenian Churches possess, inasmuch as all essentials are found in them which are held indispensable from the Orthodox point of view for the recognition of the Charisma of the priesthood derived from Apostolic succession." This decision, as the Patriarch points out in this letter, has not the significance of a decision of "the whole Orthodox Church," for which all the Autokephalous Churches must be in agreement; but "as a decision of the Primatial See of the Orthodox Churches, it is not without significance, and is a step forward in that work of general Union which is agreeable to God." The Archbishop of Canterbury, in communicating the relative documents to the Canterbury Convocation, declared that the decision in itself does not authorize Inter-Communion or mutual ministrations; but that its importance lies "in the preparation for future advances and in preparing the way for the possible regularization of Anglican ministrations to them (the Orthodox people), or of the offer of ministration on their part." The example of the Œcumenical Patriarchate was soon followed by the decisions of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and Archbishopric of Cyprus relative to Anglican Orders. The Archbishop of Athens, Chrysostom, drew up a treatise in which he supported the validity of Anglican Orders. The delay on the part of the other Autokephalous Churches in following their example should be ascribed to their preoccupation with internal matters rather than to any hesitation with regard to the essence of the matter. As the decision had already been taken in Constantinople to call a Pan-Orthodox Synod, or Pro-Synod, the Autokephalous Churches which had not yet come to a decision formed the opinion that the question also of Anglican Orders and mutual ministrations in cases of necessity would be put on a proper basis when the relations of the Orthodox to the other Christian Churches had been regulated, as proposed in the Programme.

The last intercourse between Orthodox and Anglican representatives took place at Lausanne in August last year, at the Conference on Faith and Order. However much the general character of this Conference, consisting of representatives of almost seventy Christian Churches, prevented that agreement appearing which had been reached on several points between our two Churches, yet whoever reads the minutes of the Conference, or above all followed the discussions in the special Committees, knows that the Anglican view, as long as it kept to Catholic lines, found its chief supporters

in the Orthodox delegation. If the Orthodox delegation arrived at its well-known declaration, in which it refused all compromise, it did this because it found, as did the Patriarchal delegation before in London, that the proposed terms of agreement were so wide as not to be consistent with principles which the Orthodox Church considers to be fundamental.

In reviewing what has been already said above, we say that the relations between the two Churches, Anglican and Orthodox, which have been put on a sound basis by the friendly intercourse of the heads of both Churches and the deeper knowledge of the nature and position of each Church by their theologians, especially since the beginning of the present century, are becoming every day closer. This is shown not only by simple acts of friendliness, but by real compliance and tolerance in what does not touch Inter-Communion, such as, for the Orthodox Church at least, would a century ago have been considered as quite inconceivable. At that time in the East the idea prevailed that the Ecclesiastical body called the Anglican Church was no other than a Protestant branch which, as a remnant of the ancient Church, preserved Episcopacy. Here perhaps, as elsewhere in the West, the Orthodox Church was considered as a dead branch of the ancient and undivided Church, which, while retaining some elements of its doctrine, was on the other hand a mass of superstitions which, owing to their greater number, prevented the distinguishing of the hidden kernel of truth within. Now, thanks to the endeavours made on both sides, the fundamental position of each Church has been examined and cleared of the former prevailing prejudices. But what are the prospects of the future of these relations? That is the point I wish to dwell upon before concluding my address.

III

Hopes and Fears.

The Orthodox Church has always discriminated between intercourse and co-operation of the Churches and the union of them in faith and order. It considers unhesitatingly that the first is possible, even if each Communion retains untouched its own confession, after certain conditions have been fulfilled. These conditions are the cessation of Proselytism among Christians and the cultivation of a brotherly spirit between the different Churches like that which, according to St. Paul, must characterize all the members of one and the same Church. It is true that the object for which the Œcumenical Patriarchate sent its Encyclical in 1920 has not yet been realized in the manner in which it was conceived from the beginning. This is due to the fact that the different Churches either did not make its contents a subject of special study, or did not communicate their opinions to the Œcumenical Patriarchate concerning the manner by which the proposal could be realized; or, finally that the Œcumenical Patriarchate, owing to its own diffi-

culties, could not return to the subject. Nevertheless, if one considers the willing and wide co-operation shown by the Orthodox Church in the movement for reunion, it cannot be denied that the policy of the Patriarchate since this Encyclical has been inspired by sympathy towards all the Christian Churches. And that this sympathy is more emphatically shown to the venerable Church of England is explained not only by the special relations into which it entered for the reasons given above, but also because the Orthodox Church cherishes the conviction that, in spite of all existing difficulties, the reunion with the Church of England in faith lies within the boundaries of possibility in a nearer future than with any other Church, except perhaps with the Old Catholics. What is the plan of co-operation in this League of Churches proposed by the Encyclical, each can conceive for himself if he studies the contents, which would make further remarks here unnecessary.

But the Orthodox Church, although she recognizes the preparatory character of this intercourse and co-operation for the work of reunion in faith and order, has always discriminated between them. It has always conceived of the Unity of the Church as Unity in faith in the fundamental doctrines of Divine Revelation as they were laid down in Scripture and Holy Apostolic tradition and have been confirmed by the decisions of the seven Œcumenical Synods and the nine first centuries. It is therefore easy to understand why the Orthodox Church always advances the faith of the ancient and undivided Church as the model which every discussion with theologians of other Churches should take, and as the starting-point from which every discussion should proceed on the points, undefined formally, but which are accepted in the Orthodox Church on the basis of the Divine Revelation. As the whole content of Divine Revelation has not been defined authoritatively, but is taught and accepted on the authority of the Church, this fact offers great scope for theological discussion, not only among the Orthodox theologians, but between them and theologians of other Churches. Despite this, however, the Orthodox Church accepts as true members those only who declare their belief in its fundamental principles, and considers that they only have the right to partake of the treasure of its grace through its sacraments. As, therefore, the Orthodox Church holds that Unity presupposes dogmatic Unity also, for this reason, when the proposal was made that the Patriarchate should recognize the validity of mutual ministrations of Orthodox and Anglican in cases of necessity, while it recognized the validity of Anglican Orders, it reserved its opinion on this question, and postponed it to the judgment of a future Pan-Orthodox Synod. I simply mention the fact that certain isolated examples which were dictated by anomalous conditions and necessities must not be considered as precedents which abolish the rules prevailing in the Orthodox Churches.

From this it will be seen that the future direction of discussions between the two Churches must be the following: By what means will be raised the existing dogmatic differences between them, and an agreement reached on a common confession of faith? Before

we reach this goal, let us not buoy ourselves up with the idea that a safe and enduring Union of the two Churches can be accomplished. To arrive at this goal, how many obstacles must be overcome! On the Orthodox side, there is not only the difficulty of convening a Pan-Orthodox Synod in order to lay down, in the name of the whole Church, the general lines of such a procedure for Union; but the need also for the preparation and enlightenment of the Orthodox people as regards what is essential or non-essential in the faith, and their instruction in the great advantages to be derived from the reunion of the Churches. For the removal of these obstacles not only requires time, but enlightened workers, full of zeal and devotion to the work of reunion. With regard to the obstacles on the Anglican side, may I, instead of mentioning these, be allowed to end my address with a short personal confession.

On my last journey to the East, when the question of the reunion of our Churches was raised, an Orthodox cleric said to me: "It is evident that Unity in Faith is not a *sine qua non* in the Anglican Church; for in that Church different views are held, not only in secondary matters but in fundamental matters of faith. The appeal of the last Lambeth Conference to all the Christians and the conduct of the English Church towards ecclesiastical bodies which had severed their continuity with the ancient Church, and finally the well-known discussions at the time of the revision of the Prayer Book, show clearly how wide the conception of the Church is among Anglicans. What can further discussions avail, when there exists a radical disagreement between the two Churches on this fundamental point? If, on the other hand, the object of the discussion is to define the common teaching of the Faith, as a link uniting the two Churches to each other, and one of the debating parties has made advances to others on a much wider basis, does not any further discussion seem in vain? Let us therefore be content to cultivate friendly relations and intercourse with the Anglican Church also, and stop deceiving ourselves as well as others with hopes that Unity in Faith is possible."

I answered him thus: "I recognize in one way your doubts and I share your uneasiness, but I shall never reach your despair; you despair because you ignore the nature and constitution of the Anglican Church, and you have not followed at close quarters the slow but undoubted evolution of this Church. If you knew this Church from the moment of its emancipation from Rome; if you had studied the many struggles of some of its members to save what is truly Catholic in it; if you, through close touch, became persuaded of the sincerity of their intentions and the depth of their religious convictions, then despair would not have found a place in your heart. Why should we not think that a time is coming when the Catholic nucleus which always existed in the Anglican Church should not prevail over the whole body, so that it should appear in that form which would make reunion with our Orthodox Church possible? Meanwhile, the duty of the Orthodox is not to break the definite bond which binds us to the Anglican Communion, but to help in such an evolution, through friendly inter-

course and in a spirit of peaceful discussion. And finally, since the work of reunion appertains first to the glory of God and the prevalence of His Kingdom on earth, why should we not lay our hopes on Him, who is everything and in this also, as in the work of our religious edification?" So then, "neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase" (1 Corinthians iii 7). *Oremus et laboremus.*

THE LATE PATRIARCH GREGORIOS OF ANTIOCH.

THE death of the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, Mgr. Gregorios, took place on December 13th at Damascus, the modern seat of the Patriarchate. The deceased Patriarch, who was in his seventieth year, had reigned for nineteen years, having been elected when Metropolitan of the Syrian Tripoli to succeed the Patriarch Meletios III., on the latter's death in 1909.

The Metropolitan of Laodicea, Mgr. Arsenios, who has been appointed *locum tenens* of the vacant Patriarchal Throne, was consecrated to the episcopate in 1903, and is in his sixty-fifth year.

Of all the five ancient Patriarchates of the Orthodox Church, the Patriarchate of Antioch is the most depressed. Antioch, the Golden City, the ancient walls of which still climb in a thirty-mile semicircle up and down the hills which ring it in, has been a squalid village for centuries, and the flock of the Patriarch, who until the 'seventies resided in Constantinople, and nowadays resides in Damascus, has dwindled to a dispersion of a few hundred thousand Orthodox among a solid Moslem majority. None the less, the prestige enjoyed among the Orthodox Churches by the four ancient Patriarchates is undiminished; and as the third dignitary in the whole Orthodox Church, the late Patriarch was known by name to every Orthodox, and exercised considerable influence in all Orthodox, ecclesiastical circles.

Of the simplest origin, the late Patriarch did not have the advantages of that scientific modern education which most of the leading personalities in the Orthodox Church of to-day have had, but was "unlearned." He was possessed, however, of great native intuition, was a shrewd man of affairs, and a wise administrator, and had a rare nicety of judgment both as to men and events. His reign in many ways has marked a transition in the Antiochene Patriarchate, the great majority of the flock of which, as do the small minority and the large majority respectively of the flocks of the Alexandrine and of the Jerusalem Patriarchate, consists of Arabophone Syrians, who are often erroneously termed Arabs, but except for their use of Arabic, belong everywhere, both by culture and tradition, to the Byzantine *bloc*.

Until the close of last century it never entered the heads of the

Arabophones anywhere to differentiate themselves from the Greeks, like whom, under the Turks, they continued to think of themselves as Romans in the manner in which their forefathers had thought of themselves under the Byzantine Empire. With rare wisdom, however, the higher clergy of the Antiochene Patriarchate, who were mostly of Greek race, forestalled the effect of these modern movements which have asserted racial nationality, and in the spirit of that true supranationality, which is characteristic of the Orthodox Church, concurred in the 'nineties in being replaced by an Arabophone higher clergy, and in Arabic becoming the liturgical language of the Patriarchate. It was thus that, in spite of his lack of some qualifications, the late Patriarch came to be elected, and that during his reign the Patriarchate ceased to be Roman—*i.e.*, Greek—and became Arabophone.

By outlook and mentality, and possibly through the limitations of his advantages—so far as I know, the late Patriarch never visited Western Europe—he was a somewhat narrow Conservative, and opposed to reform. He could move, however, with the times; and though when it was first mooted, he was a vigorous opponent of the reform of the Calendar initiated by the present Patriarch of Alexandria, almost his last act was to concur with his Synod in its adoption. A month or two ago he decided also upon the reopening of the Patriarchal Theological College of Pellemont, and was planning its staffing and conduct on modern lines.

If he had died before the War, we Anglicans would doubtless have been interested in the passing of a symbolic personage invested with being the lineal successor of St. Peter—a secondary title of the Patriarch of Antioch is the Holder of the First Throne of Peter—St. Paul and St. Ignatius in the city in which the disciples were first called Christians. The romance of the Patriarchate is writ large in our Church history books.

But though he complained that France, as the mandatory power in Syria, furthered the uniatizing propaganda against his people, and though, however anti-clerical at home, being invested with the cherished prerogative of the protection of the Papal interests in the Levant, the French Government gave some reason for the complaint, he rejoiced that among the many other benefits which the substitution of the French flag for the Turkish brought him, his new and relative freedom put him in actual touch with the Anglican Church. If he had been permitted he would himself have attended the Nikæan Celebration of 1925 in Westminster Abbey. As it was, he asked the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria to represent him at it.

Indeed, he let pass no occasion of showing his goodwill to us Anglicans, and in particular acted as a genial and kindly host to the members of the Anglo-Catholic pilgrimages who in the past five years have visited Damascus. By them his loss will be regretted for the sake of his simple and gentle personality.

Mgr. Arsenios, who is expected to be his successor, is a man of fine scholarly attainment, and being versed in modern life, may well be expected to lead the Patriarchate into the common possessions of twentieth century religious life. His task is not altogether easy, and he will have many difficulties to contend with; but he is of the stuff to carry through and to rise to his fine opportunity. None the less, however successful he may be, he will not easily eclipse the name of his predecessor either for relative achievement or for personal sanctity. According to his time and to his vision, the Patriarch Gregory was a good man and a wise ruler, and as such was worthy of his great office and its traditions.—R.I.P.

J.A.D.

(From *Pantaenos*.)

Mgr. Gregorios resided at Damascus, and it is a curious fact that, of the four titular Patriarchs of Antioch, not one resides in that city; the Greek Catholic, or Uniat, Patriarch divides his time equally between Damascus and Egypt, the Maronite Patriarch resides in the Lebanon, the Syrian Catholic at Beirut, and the Latin in Rome. All four claim the sole direct Apostolic succession in the first city of the Christians from St. Peter, the first Bishop of Antioch (A.D. 33–40), but the Greek Orthodox line of descent (wonderfully preserved through centuries of war, persecution, and unrest) is probably the most authentic and regular from the historical point of view. Fourteen episcopal Sees are attached to the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch—Beirut, Acre, Zahleh in the Lebanon, Tripoli-of-Syria, Homs (the Crusading Edessa), Tyre and Sidon, Laodicea, the Hauran, Diabekir in Armenia, Aleppo, Tarsus and Adana, Epiphanias, Lebanon, and Erzeroum. The Patriarch of Antioch wields wide powers, both civil and religious, which are peculiar to the See. He can call a local synod for settling questions of Church order and discipline, and he can imprison members of his flock; in religious matters he is subject to the judgment of the Holy Synod, but, up to 1914, in civil cases he had direct access to the Porte, without having to pass through local tribunals or officials first, but only through the Patriarchate of Constantinople. He was personally responsible for his flock to the Porte.

When the War broke out Gregorios' marked pro-Russian and pro-Ally sympathies made him an object of suspicion to the Turks, but by degrees he won the confidence and friendship of Jamal Pasha, who allowed him to remain at his post throughout the War, and even gave him much-needed help for the Orthodox poor. At some personal risk Gregorios gave secret help to British, Russian, and other Allied subjects who were stranded in parts of his see. In 1917, when the Patriarch Damianos of Jerusalem and his synod were deported

to Damascus by the Turks, Gregorios housed and fed them in his own residence; but when the Palestine synod rebelled against Damianos (1920) and appealed to him for help against their Patriarch, Gregorios refused to be drawn into the dispute on either side. When the Druses rose against the French (1925–26) Gregorios wrote a personal letter to their leader, Sultan Pasha el-Atrash, asking him to protect all Christians as far as possible; he also sheltered and fed some 500 Christians of all creeds who were rendered homeless through this little war. This action, and his strong pro-British sympathies, which he was at no pains to conceal, made him unpopular with the French authorities in Syria.

THE ORTHODOX REFORMED CALENDAR.

THAT a good deal of confusion should exist not only among usually well-informed English folk, but even among the Orthodox themselves, as to what is the present position of the Orthodox Reformed Calendar, is not surprising. Accordingly the appended letter, addressed to the *Church Times* by the Metropolitan of Thyatira, which incidentally gives the number of the autokephalous Churches that are recognised as such to-day by the Œcumenical Patriarchate, and which is authoritative, will be welcome. The new Calendar, which, *pace* the Metropolitan, is *not* the Gregorian, but an emendation of it, was put forward at the Pan-Orthodox Conference convened in Constantinople in 1922 by the present Patriarch Meletios of Alexandria, who was then Œcumenical Patriarch. That Conference, the validity of which was questioned at the time, and which professed to be no more than advisory, simply recommended the new Calendar for the consideration of the autokephalous Churches, and certain Orthodox hierarchs, among whom the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev and the late Patriarch Gregorios of Antioch criticized it sharply, not indeed for the Calendar in itself, but for handling the matter of the readjustment of the old Calendar at all—a proceeding which they held should have been postponed until an Œcumenical Council can be convened. So great a change, they argued, could only be accomplished by a decision of the supreme legislative organ of the whole Orthodox Church, and ought at least to wait until the Russian Church could give its voice in the matter. None the less, the Œcumenical Patriarchate not only saw the Conference through, but, after notifying the other Churches and inviting them to follow its example, adopted the new Calendar itself in 1923, an example which was followed at once by the Churches of Cyprus, Rumania and Hellas, and more slowly by those of Georgia and Poland and by the Patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch, the last two having made the change only in the past twelve months. In Russia, while the Synodal Church, which must by no means be confused with the now disintegrated Living Church, made the change in 1925, the Patriarchal Church has

not yet done so. Both sides of the Russian Church in Exile have adhered to the old Calendar, and the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev, with his Synod at Karlowicz, is firm against it, his influence, which is strong in Serbia, being generally regarded as the main reason why the Serbian Patriarchate has not yet conformed to the action of the Jugo-Slav State, which has put the Gregorian Calendar in force in its own secular sphere since 1919. The Jerusalem Patriarchate has expressed itself as being in no way opposed on principle to the new Calendar, but has not adopted it for the avowed reason that the greatest inconvenience would arise in the Holy Places if the Orthodox fixed feasts coincided with the Latin.

If, as now appears very possible, the new Calendar is thus adopted by General Consent of the Orthodox Churches, an important precedent of individual action on the part of the Œcumenical Patriarchate in initiating a change—and the change is, of course, of considerable magnitude—would be established, and complete justification would be given for the contention of Professor Komnenos, who, in his brochure on Anglican Ordinations, maintained in 1922 that the Œcumenical Patriarchate, or, indeed, any autokephalous church, could initiate Economic Intercommunion with us.

The initiation of a change in the fixing of Easter made by the Roumanian Patriarchate is, necessarily, open to greater challenge than was the adoption of the new Calendar by the Œcumenical Patriarchate, inasmuch as it involves the supersession of a Canon of the First Œcumenical Council, the decrees of which are generally assumed to be reformable only by another Œcumenical Council, or, at least, by Unanimous Consent of the Autokephalous Churches. The Metropolitan's letter runs :—

To the Editor of the *Church Times*.

Sir,—In your issue of February 8, you state that " on March 31, for the first time in the last 347 years, Easter Sunday will be celebrated unitedly by all sections of Christians and Jews, during the Jewish Passover, because the Synod of the Orthodox Church, assembled at Bucharest, has decided to advance by fourteen days their Easter date, bringing it to the Gregorian Calendar's Easter Sunday." This statement is not strictly accurate in itself, as it confuses the change of the Calendar in most of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches with the fixing of the Easter date.

In regard to the acceptance of the new or Georgian Calendar, the position now existing in the Orthodox Church is as follows. The Church of Russia, as in other matters, is divided on the Calendar question, in so far as the " Patriarchal or Tychonic Church " follows the Julian Calendar, while the " Synodal Church " follows the Gregorian. Of the other autokephalous Churches, eight, *i.e.*, the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Antiochea, and Rumania, and the Churches of Cyprus, Greece, Poland and Georgia,

follow the Georgian Calendar, according to the decisions of their own Synods. Only the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Churches of Serbia and Bulgaria still apply the old Calendar.

It is generally known that the Eastern Orthodox Churches fix Easter Day on the First Sunday after the full moon which follows the spring equinox, according to the Canon of the First Œcumenical Council of Nicæa (325 A.D.). Following this Canon, all the Orthodox Churches, viz., those which changed their Calendar as well as those which insist on the old one, have fixed Easter Day on Sunday, April 22, of the old Calendar—*i.e.*, on May 5, according to the new. As is now announced, a solitary exception is made by the autokephalous Church of Rumania, which, by its own Synod, lately decided, not without opposition, to celebrate Easter this year on March 31, along with the Western Christians and the Jewish Passover. This decision was taken by the Rumanian Synod (and by this Synod alone) at Bucharest at the instigation of the Rumanian Government, which desires to have Easter on the same day for all Christians in Rumania. In this country, as is well known, there exists a large minority of Roman Catholics and of Protestants.

✠ GERMANOS,
Feb. 15, 1929. Archbishop of Thyatira.

Since the above was written, however, the Roumanian Synod has rescinded its decision as to the date of Easter, which will thus be kept by all the Orthodox on May 5th. J.A.D.

THE MEDIÆVAL MONASTERIES OF SERBIA.

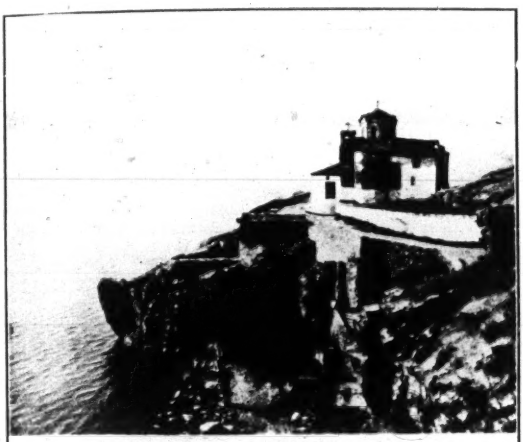
BY GRIZELLE STRANG STEEL.

"As the Egyptian Pharaohs took care to build their tombs, so the Serbian kings did their utmost to build a church."

ALTHOUGH the Serbian people began their migration from the Carpathians to settle in the Balkan peninsula at the close of the fifth century, they were not converted to Christianity until the ninth century, until when they worshipped the gods of their race, Slavonic deities, whose names linger faintly in the "far-off, confused murmur of pagan ages."

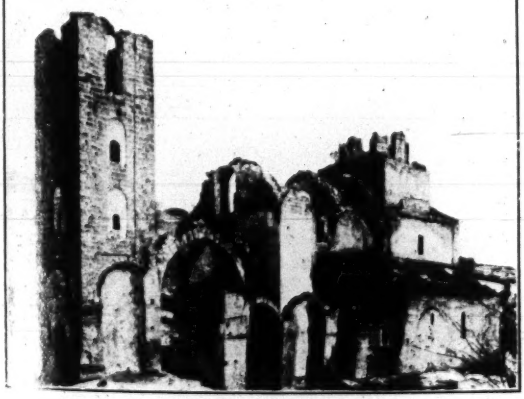
Several attempts were made to gather the early tribes under a single ruler, but without any permanent success until Nemanja founded a State in the twelfth century. Under the Nemanja dynasty Serbia enjoyed a period of ever-increasing prosperity, and splendid monasteries and sumptuous churches were erected which are still the glory of Serbian art.

The position of Serbia, lying mid-way between the Orient and the Occident, brought the country into contact with the great civilizations of Rome and Constantinople. For some time after their con-



(i). Monastery of St. Jovan Bogoslav (St. John the Theologian) Okhrida, over the Lake of Okhrida, Century 14.

(ii). Monastery of St. Kliment, Okhrida.



(iii). Monastery of Scpocani, Century 13

IV.

V.

(iv). Church of Gracanica.

(v). Patriarchal Church of Pec in the Zeta, consisting of three Churches, the oldest of which was built in the middle of Century 13.

version to Christianity by the apostles of the Slavs, Cyril and Methodius, the Serbs were divided between the Roman-Catholic religion and the Orthodox Church. An outburst of the Bogomil heresy, which afterwards appeared in France as the Albigensian heresy, decided Stephen Nemanja to call an Assembly, which proclaimed the Orthodox Church the religion of the State. Nevertheless, Nemanja tolerated Roman-Catholicism wherever it had taken root, especially in the neighbourhood of the Adriatic. The art of both civilizations dwelt together no less fraternally, and in the mediæval monasteries of Serbia the Byzantine dome spans the Roman arch.

It was the fashion among the monarchs of the Nemanja dynasty to build monasteries and churches, which were at the same time the expression of their piety and the revelation of their power and wealth. The nobles followed their example, and the religious communities were endowed with the reckless generosity of the Middle Ages. One monastery owned ninety villages, another possessed seventy-five pastures, supporting five hundred families. In South Serbia, the cradle of Christianity, the monasteries are particularly numerous, and the lakes of Prespana and Okhrida are encircled by a ring of domes, such as adorn the church of St. Jovan Bogoslav, dominating the latter lake (illus. 1) and St. Kliment in the town of Okhrida (illus. 2).

Stephen Nemanja handed over the cares of the State to his eldest son, Stephen-the-First-Crowned, and withdrew to the monastery he had built at Stoudenitza. This noble building of lofty domes and spacious arches was built entirely of marble, and decorated with graceful sculpture. Nemanja was buried in the church, under his appelation of Simon the Peaceful. This able soldier and statesman was also a man of great piety, and built the monastery at Hilendar, which was so perfect in form and proportion that it served as the model for almost all the other Serbian monasteries. It stands upon the brink of the Ægean Sea under the shadow of Mount Athos. The Holy Mount, with its tiers of religious houses rising from the rocks, was one of the chief centres of monastic life in the Middle Ages. The community, which now numbers three thousand monks, sprang from a handful of hermits. Athanasius gathered together the scattered elements and founded the "religious republic," which exercised so powerful an influence over the whole of the Orthodox world.

The Monastery of Sopocani, in the County of Rasko (illus. 3) was erected by Uros I., the son of Stephen-the-First-Crowned. This monarch married a French princess, Helena of Anjou, who endowed many religious houses, and whose pious and holy life was crowned by canonization. Dragoutine, the eldest son and successor of Uros I., reigned only a short time, and was succeeded by his brother Miloutine, one of the greatest rulers belonging to the Nemanja dynasty (1281–1321). Under this monarch the prosperity of the country increased

rapidly, Serbia became the most united and powerful State in Eastern Europe, and the Serbian language was most commonly in use all over the peninsula. Miloutine not only extended the boundaries of the country, but also organized its commerce and improved the education of the people. He endowed many religious houses, amongst them the splendid Monastery of Gracanica, dominating the plain of Kossovo, the Field of the Blackbirds, destined to play so tragic a part in the history of Serbia (illus. 4). This is one of the most important of the mediæval monuments, and with its five exquisite cupolas is architecturally perfect. The church, which is built of free-stone and brick, has three naves. The interior is decorated with frescoes representing the Nemanja dynasty, and contains a statue of Queen Simonida, the spouse of King Miloutine. The successor of this monarch, Stephen Detchanski, built another famous monastery to celebrate a victory he had gained over the Bulgarians. The Detchani Monastery was only completed in the reign of the Emperor Dusan.

Dusan, surnamed the Strong, has been compared by many historians to Charlemagne, and was venerated by the Serbs as the Father of the People. He was proclaimed emperor by both Serbs and Greeks in 1345. One of his first acts was to call an Assembly at Skoplje, afterwards called Uskub by the Turks, at which the Serbian archbishopric was transformed into a patriarchate, and the town of Pec was designed as the seat of the patriarchs. The Monastery of Pec (illus. 5) enclosed three separate churches, the oldest of which was erected by Archbishop Arseneje in the thirteenth century. This monastery was abandoned with the advent of the Turks, but was turned into a school in the eighteenth century, and afterwards served as a prison.

The vast empire over which Dusan ruled included Greece, Albania and Bulgaria, but the emperor predicted danger from the neighbourhood of Turkey. It was in order to forestall this menace that he determined to conquer that country. But when his army was encamped before the gates of Constantinople, his plans were defeated by an act of treachery, and Dusan was poisoned on the eve of victory.

With the death of the emperor, Serbia's prosperity began to decline. Dusan had divided the country into provinces, each under the government of a powerful vassal. But his son Uros, who succeeded him, was too feeble to control the vast mechanism of the State. The vassals quarrelled among themselves, and the Turks took advantage of their dissension to invade the country.

> From Bosnia came countless armies of Turks,
> With shining sabres,
> And exploding guns,
> And multitudes of companies.
> The Drina sobbed,

Matchva barely breathed,
Jadar, Potserie, and Cabatz sighed,
The clouds accumulated,
The sun of Serbia was veiled.[1]

Thereafter the Serbs were divided between desperate attempts to throw off their enemies, and migrations towards the north when they preferred exile to submission. This period was fatal to art. The mediæval monasteries fell into the hands of the Turks, who pitilessly ill-treated them, whilst those built in the north among the snow-clad heights of Fruska-Gora, lacked the nobility of the earlier buildings. Nevertheless, the fifteen religious houses of Fruska-Gora were faithful guardians of the treasures carried away by the fugitives: manuscripts, pictures, and archives.

The architecture of the Serbian monasteries falls into three divisions, closely connected with the history of the country. In the earliest monasteries the Roman style mingles with the Byzantine style. The magnificent palace of Diocletian dominating the little town of Split, on the Dalmatian coast, is still one of the best preserved monuments of ancient Rome, and was as fertile a source of inspiration to Serbian artists as the church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople. But with the conquest of Macedonia the Byzantine style prevailed, as may easily be seen in the many cupolas which adorn the monastery of Gracanica. The migration to the north produced a Baroque style, unworthy of the Nemanja period.

More attention was always paid to the exterior of the buildings than to their internal decoration, nevertheless, the walls of the churches were covered with frescoes, usually representing the donors or national saints. Some of these painted figures are of monumental size, and strangely imposing in spite of their austerity. Other frescoes were inspired by the work of the monks engaged upon illuminating mediæval missals, and these display an extraordinary wealth of detail and variety of colour. The fragments preserved in the monasteries of Fruska-Gora reveal what a wealth of adornment must have been lavished upon the mediæval monasteries; reliefs and bas-reliefs in stone, carving in wood, ivory, copper, bronze and gold, tables in marble, icons in mosaic, and admirably painted portraits of the saints.

THE ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF PARIS AND ITS INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE.

By Professor Glubokovsky.

In October-November, 1928, I had occasion to take a fairly intimate part in the activity of the Russian Orthodox Theological Institute of Paris, and thus to verify on personal experience my previous impressions; I had already delivered in July and August,

[1] Serbian folksong.

1925, ten lectures there on the New Testament, and in the autumn of 1927, in the capacity of an observing bystander, I had watched its work and hardships. Now I feel the obligation to express my firm conviction concerning the Institute.

There is no doubt that this young institution—which started to function only in 1925—is valuable and important for the Russian Orthodox Church. Now, when the Bolsheviks have destroyed all Theological Academies and Seminaries, as well as all lower ecclesiastical schools of Russia, the Institute is the only torch of the Russian Church in the whole world. The Paris Institute is the only guardian and transmitter of the Russian theological tradition—and it does zealously fulfil this holy mission by all its activity and organization.

The Institute resembles the Theological Academy of Moscow more than any other theological school. Like the Moscow Academy, it is living under the spiritual guidance of St. Sergius; its residence is St. Sergius' House, and the Institute celebrates the day of Intercession of the Holy Virgin (1st of October—old style) as its holy day, when the open annual inauguration of the year's work takes place in strict accordance with the old Moscow custom The students are living in constant prayer and in hard work. They attend daily (twice at least) the Church, which is situated over their dormitories and lecture halls. They take an active part in divine services as ministers or aspirants for ordination; these services are celebrated according to monastic rules; the students sing in choir with a canonarch, and all, including laymen, attend the Church dressed in ecclesiastical gowns. In all these aspects the Institute is a real "School of Piety," as all this is attained without any compulsion or formality. The students are inspired by the example of their leader —the Metropolitan Evlogios; and all their teachers serve God in sincere devotion of their hearts, although, due to the paucity of the financial means of the Institute, the students are heavily overloaded by various household occupations. They are also compelled to compose their own study-books, taking for basis their lectures—or to use borrowed books—there is no possibility of providing the Institute with a library which would even slightly resemble the library of the Moscow Theological Academy, the riches of which surprised in 1890 the well-known Ad. Harnack (*vide* his review of my book on St. Theodorit). The whole day of the students is occupied by divine services and the study of divine sciences, the first being enlightened by reason and the second by piety.

We are not considering here the actual situation, and we are far from intending to underrate the merits of anyone else, but still we must say that all Orthodox Theological Schools cultivate markedly a rational scientific aspect of theology without trying to bring it into organic unity with its ecclesiastical elements, the knowledge of which is for the students only a by-product of their studies depending

mostly upon their personal and individual desire, the latter having not always the possibility of full development.

This is why the Theological Institute of Paris is at the present moment the only manifestation of normal Orthodox Theological Science. And the pious western world, which is now searching for Church unity and for Church revival, is anxious to see and to learn just what is this Orthodox Theological science.

The same must be said about the scientific system adopted by the Institute. The Institute does not try to introduce innovations, and prefers to follow the old academic programmes, which have behind them a long historic experience. The deviations exist only in as far as they are necessitated by the actual conditions: the Institute has no possibility of maintaining a full faculty with an executive staff of about 25 to 30 men, as was the rule in Russian academies, when all necessities and commodities of life were at hand both for teachers and students, and when the majority of students were fully provided with all necessary means, and could freely devote themselves, therefore, to their scholastic work, which was always highly intensive.

However, even in the character of these deviations from the old methods, as well as in all the principles and programmes of the Institute, it is impossible to fail to see a rational and consequently realized system. These deviations are not occasional, but represent definite adaptations to changed conditions. Those are indisputable innovations, which are introduced partially—to the extent of the rather limited possibilities of the Institute. They are the source of fears, which are transformed by old-fashioned and ignorant persons—although sometimes vested with high hierarchical dignities—into direct suspicion that the Institute is deviating from the purity of the Orthodox Faith. This suspicion, however, is nothing but pure nonsense, and a product of reactionary intolerance, which is untrue with regard both to individuals and to the system as a whole. If individuals sometimes express their opinion in terms which may seem ambiguous and uncommon, they are still proclaiming our traditional Church teaching, and are trying to make it intelligible and acceptable for the modern mind, with its special propædeutics and special interests. As far as the whole scientific and pedagogical system is concerned, it would be both strange and pernicious to continue on the old viewpoints, and thus to become lifeless and in a state of real petrification. The Gospels and commonsense bid us discern the special signs of the times, and to comply accordingly with the new claims under given conditions, in order not to fight uselessly against facts, but to direct them into the channels of religious ideas and interests. The Theological Institute is fulfilling this task to the extent of its possibilities. Therefore, it is the duty of all wise men to assist its cause in all aspects, and not to place obstacles in its way by premature criticisms.

It is also necessary to point out that the Institute is contributing diligently to the cause of Interconfessional Unity. Thus, for instance, in its instruction the Institute brings wisely into the forefront the common points of the Christian confessions, and does not emphasize destructive polemics. It wisely attracts to its church services the members of other communions by celebrating the divine service in the French language. It practically promotes the cause of Union by sending its leaders to various religious World's Conferences and private gatherings.

On account of these facts, the significance of the Theological Institute passes over national and confessional boundaries, and assumes an all-Christian, and consequently international, significance. Therefore, it should be only normal and natural that the Institute should secure regular international support in order to become a regular international institution for the spiritual Christian pacification of the whole world.

Such functions as these ought to be the moral and vital duty of all international institutions engaged in this cause, and especially in that of the League of Nations (which is sterile without a Christian foundation) and of responsible Christian leaders.

Those who have ears to hear, let them hear, that the hand of the giver will never experience scarcity.

SOME NOTABLE BOOKS ON ORTHODOXY.

By the Rev. L. PATTERSON, D.D.

I. EASTERN ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY.

(DAS ORTHODOXE CHRISTENTUM DES OSTENS.)

By STEFAN ZANKOW, *Professor of the University of Sofia.*

Furche-Verlag, Berlin. 1928.

THIS book, the outcome of lectures delivered at Berlin University in the summer of 1927, possesses, we believe, permanent value as a concise but adequate exposition of Orthodox doctrine. Apart from the actual contents of the lectures, the bibliography prefixed at the beginning of the book gives a useful summary of modern works on the Orthodox Church, written in Russian, Serbian, Bulgarian and Rumanian, which may be consulted by scholars who possess a working knowledge of those languages. Although Prof. Zankow does not claim infallible authority for all his theological statements, he is a scholar who combines definite convictions with a broadminded and progressive attitude towards non-orthodox communions.

At the outset, Prof. Zankow endeavours to define the meaning of Orthodoxy, according to two formal principles. (1) Orthodoxy consists not only in the right doctrine, but also in the right belief and the right form of worship (Lobpreis). (2) The Orthodox Church is the Church of primitive times, and in this sense, a Church of tradition.

The principal sources of orthodox doctrine are (1) Scripture, (2) tradition, (3) symbolic books. Prof. Zankow does not attach much importance either to the Confession of Faith of the Metropolitan of Kiev, Peter Mogilas (1640), or to the decisions of the local synod of Jerusalem (1672), and the Confession of Faith of Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, confirmed at that synod, and afterwards sent broadcast by the Eastern Patriarchs in 1721. In these confessions of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, he detects either Roman or Protestant influences. The only œcumenical symbol of the Church is the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.

It is not to be expected that Prof. Zankow would enunciate any original or extraordinary views on the fundamental doctrines of the Trinity or the Incarnation. As to the former, he emphasizes the unity in love of the Divine Trinity, and in the Incarnation he insists that God became man in order that man may become like God. Soteriology is essentially Christology, but still the Cross has a great significance for Orthodox Christians, both in doctrine and religious life. At any rate, most modern Orthodox theologians have rejected the juristic theory of redemption, which, as we know, was adumbrated by Athanasius and Augustine, but was fully developed by Anselm. The death on the Cross is completed by the Resurrection, which is the special pledge of salvation and eternal life.

Eschatology has a special interest for the Orthodox, because he has a vivid feeling of the expectation of the coming of the Kingdom of God. In fact, Prof. Zankow quotes a story to show that the simple-hearted believer tends to universalism. In a poor country church of Russia, an old peasant woman lights a candle before a picture representing the Last Judgment. "Why do you do that?" she was asked. She answered "No one prays for him. One must pray for him also." She meant the devil; but she would not mention his name in church. Her theology may have been faulty, but her heart was generous.

The Church is defined as an organic unity or organism. Prof. Zankow rejects the distinction between the visible and invisible Church, cherished by some Protestant thinkers, as misleading or tending to ecclesiastical nihilism, as no one can determine who are the true members of the invisible Church. There is the practically more important question as to the relation of the non-orthodox communions to the One Church. Some Orthodox theologians take the view that the Orthodox Church is the One Church, and that all the rest do not belong to her, because they have lapsed. Prof. Zankow inclines to the other view, that the Church is One and embraces all who have been baptised in Christ. He quotes in this connection Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow, N. Glubokovsky, and Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyatira. Of course, comprehension in the One Church does not involve participation in the Lord's Supper, as was proposed at the Lausanne Conference.

The Orthodox Church is hierarchical, but not hierocratic. The bishop depends on the co-operation and consent of his priests in the most important affairs of diocesan administration, and, in dogmatic questions, the agreement of the bishops and the laity is indispensable. In fact, the true guardian of faith in the Orthodox Church is the body of the Church, the people themselves. (This plainly reminds us of the definition of the Church in Article XIX.)

Prof. Zankow affirms the Orthodox belief that the Eucharist is an unbloody sacrifice, and that the consecrated gifts are the true body and blood of Christ: further definition, however, belongs not to the sphere of dogma, but pious opinion. Some Russians hold a moderate doctrine of Transubstantiation, but Khomiakof and Glubokovsky repudiate it definitely, and it may be presumed that Prof. Zankow agrees with them.

With regard to Church life and religious activities, Prof. Zankow complains that Western writers have represented the virtues of Orthodox Christians as purely passive, or have asserted that they are not ethically interested in this world. The truth is that they are not tied to this world. Dostoievsky, Gogol, and Soloviev feel themselves as wanderers and pilgrims in this life. The principal virtues of the Orthodox Christian are humility before God and love for all, even the worst sinner. The elder Sosima, in Dostoievsky's *The Brothers Karamasov*, says: "Love man, even in his sin, for that is a pattern of the divine love, and the highest love on earth."

The relation of the Church to the State and the nation may be very briefly summarized. As far back as 1905, there was a movement in the Russian Church against the excessive influence of the State, and now it is forced by the circumstances of the Revolution to demand its full freedom. The Rumanian Church has been emancipated from the authority of the State since its new constitution of 1925, and the Serbian Church is developing in the same direction. In Bulgaria there has been a free relation between State and Church since the establishment of the new Bulgarian State (1879). On the other hand, the Orthodox Church does not deny nationality, but rather the nation is the vehicle of Orthodox Christianity.

In conclusion, Prof. Zankow tries to determine the right relation between Orthodoxy and Romanism or Protestantism. As he wisely says, the Christian churches exhibit many differences; we must distinguish (unter-scheiden), but we may not divide (scheiden): for in Christ they are not divided. The Orthodox Church agrees with the Roman Church on the faith and sacraments, but not on Papal Infallibility. The Orthodox Church comes nearer to the Protestants (including the Church of England) in their free use of Holy Scripture, and the central position, which Christ takes in their common devotion. We are tempted to quote more, but we may conclude with Prof. Zankow's declaration of the part which the Orthodox Church can play in the work of reunion. "Her holy duty and her immediate

task is to co-operate in a creative manner in the divine work of the reunion of the churches and the comprehensive development of Christianity . . . Her motto will be ' In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.' "

II. THE EASTERN CHURCH: WORLD VIEW AND DEVOTIONAL LIFE.

By N. v. ARSENIEV, *Privatdozent in Konigsberg.*

Berlin and Leipzig, 1926.

THIS little volume is intended to be an introduction to the inner life of the Orthodox Church. It deals with worship and the sacraments, and quotes freely from the writings of the Church fathers, and specially from the Philokalia (Russian Dobrotolublye). It reviews the great feasts of the Church Calendar, from the Nativity of the B.V.M. (Sept. 8th), and discusses their cosmic significance, especially that of the Resurrection. Among ascetic works, special attention is given to the Penitential Rule of Andrew of Crete, and the Μάχη ἀοράτος of Nicodemus of Mt. Athos. There are some interesting passages about the history of eikons and the mystical or sacramental life.

III. LIST OF SOME WORKS ON THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.

ARSENIEV, N. *The Church of the East and Mysticism.* Munich, 1925.

The Church of the East. Berlin, 1926 (German).

BULGAKOFF, S. *Sketch of the doctrine of the Church* (*Russian*). Paris, 1925.

DYULGEROFF, D. *Jesus Christ. Dogmatic Exposition of the redemptive work of Christ* (Bulgarian). Sofia, 1926.

GALA-GALACTION. *Piatra din capul unghiului* (The Corner-Stone, Rumanian). Bukharest, 1926.

GYAUROFF, CHR. *Introduction to Orthodox Theology* (Bulgarian). Sofia, 1926.

GLUBOKOVSKY, N. *The Essence of Orthodoxy* (Russian). St. Petersburg, 1914.

MIHALCESCU, J. *Catechism of the Orthodox Christian* (Rumanian). 1925.

Manual of Dogmatic Theology (Rumanian). Bukharest, 1916.

Problems of Russian Religious Experience (Russian). Collected Essays, *Y.M.C.A. Press.* Berlin, 1924.

Theological Encyclopædia. Lopuchin and Glubokovsky, St. Petersburg, 1910–11 (Russian).

ZANKOW, S. *Eastern Orthodox Christianity* (German). Berlin, 1928.

IV. THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS OF EDUCATED MEN.

(VERSKI PROBLEMI OBRAZOVANIKH LYUDI.)

MILAN G. POPOVICH. Nish (*Constantine Press*). 1929.

THIS short outline of Christian doctrine is written by one who was formerly a theological student at Oxford after the War, and is now a parish priest at Crepaja (Tsrepaya), Banat. As the author states in his preface, it is one of a series of essays, designed not for the professional theologian but for the educated layman. It has the twofold aim (1) to stimulate the educated lay reader to reflection about religious problems, (2) to try to remove his prejudices and preconceptions about Christianity. The following subjects are briefly handled in eight chapters : the nature of religion, the creation of the world and original sin, the personality of Jesus Christ and His resurrection, sin and salvation, asceticism and the belief in a future life. Fr. M. Popovich approaches all these questions from a fairly conservative but critical standpoint, and would, we believe, find himself in full sympathy with such scholars as Bishop Gore, Dr. Goudge, and others.

Religion is compared with science and metaphysical or moral philosophy, but has its own separate and fully independent sphere. The domain of religion is personality, and the solution of all these problems which are connected with the perfection of personality. Fr. Popovich lays special emphasis on the conception of personality throughout his book, and specially in his interpretation of our Lord's character and work.

The creation of the world and original sin (strictly speaking, the sin of our first parents) is treated altogether from the modern standpoint. There is no attempt to defend verbal inspiration or the historical existence of Adam and Eve. According to the teaching of the Church, the writers of the books of the Bible were inspired only in the religious sense ; all else depended on their personal capacities. The Church has proclaimed the Bible as a holy book, not because of its historical or scientific teaching, but exclusively because of its religious value, because it contains a history of the human soul. We must, like St. Paul, regard Adam as the personification and prototype of the human race. Neither in the Bible, nor in the teaching of Jesus Christ, nor in the Church teaching of the first centuries, is it asserted that the sin of the first man, as a historical fact, left any consequence on his posterity. Through Adam death came into the world, but that is not ascribed to his personal sin, but to his fallen (should we say fallible ?) earthly nature.

The personality of Jesus Christ, as it is manifested in the Gospels, is undoubtedly a moral miracle, which has no equal in the history of mankind. There was no defect nor exaggeration in His character, but everything was in perfect harmony. The full human nature of our Lord is manifested in temptation and suffering, but at the same time, His divine nature is revealed by the content and quality of

those temptations. Fr. Popovich admits that some educated people would prefer the personality of Christ without the physical miracles, but holds that they are so closely interwoven with the Gospel records that they stand or fall together with them. The greatness of our Lord's personality is shown in His attitude to sinners, because true greatness lies not so much in the attainment of one's own perfection as in the successful elevation of others to perfection. If we are asked why we believe in the God-Manhood of Jesus Christ, we may answer simply that He represents the highest development of human personality, and that God is most fully known through an intelligent personal being.

We can only deal very briefly with Fr. Popovich's exposition of the nature and effect of our Lord's Resurrection. His body passed through certain changes, which showed clearly that He belonged to another world. But the truth of the Resurrection is attested by the fundamental moral change which it wrought in the disciples. As a religious belief, the Resurrection has always been of inestimable value to devout and sinful people.

We are grateful to Fr. Popovich for pointing out that there is no sin in human impulses and instincts, but only in their misuse. Sin and moral evil are not synonymous, but the confession of the Prodigal Son brings out clearly the two aspects of the same fact. Consciousness of sin depends on the intensity of man's love towards God. We agree with Fr. Popovich that the classification of the seven capital sins, under the influence of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, already indicates the experience of the monastic life, and is foreign to the essence of the Gospel.

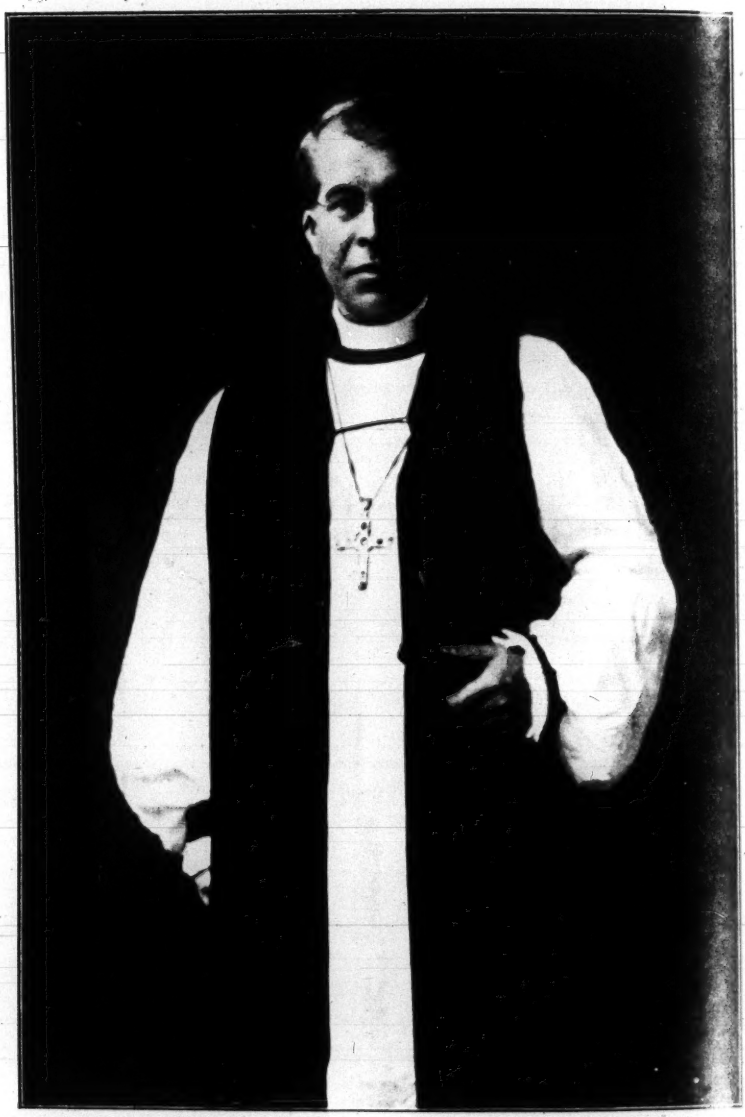
Salvation may be considered in relation to pain and suffering. It is a common experience that people wish to be saved from the consequences of sin, that is suffering, rather than from sin itself. But Jesus Christ showed by His own example that He did not regard suffering as an unmixed evil, but rather as a means of whole-hearted self-sacrifice. Salvation, then, means redemption from the sinful state in which the natural man finds himself. It means perfection in true holiness, harmonization of man's will with the will of God, and lastly, union with Him.

We are inclined to join issue with Fr. Popovich on the question of asceticism. It may be granted that asceticism found its way very early into the life of the Church, that it is an important element in the piety of Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. But how much of this piety is an essential and integral part of the teaching of the Gospel? Fr. Popovich admits, in a previous essay, that our Lord was not an extreme ascetic. Apart from the fast in the wilderness, as a preparation for His mission, our Lord seems to lay little emphasis on these external observances. He contrasts Himself with John the Baptist as One Who came eating and drinking, and He does not

pray that His disciples should be taken out of the world, but rather that they should be delivered from moral evil. We must confess that what appeals to us in the character of St. Basil, the father of Eastern monasticism, is not his rigid austerities, but his theological learning, and his social enthusiasm.

Lastly, we turn to some of the intellectual arguments for belief in a future life. It may be asserted that, without this belief, life would lose the greater part of its meaning and purpose, that ethics would lose its highest sanction, because there would be no certainty of good overcoming evil. But the main proof of human immortality, as opposed to the evident fact of death, is found in human personality, in that ultimate mystery which transcends the physical organism. Personality, which is conscious of itself and inspired with high ideals, looks forward to immortality with its many-sided personal relations of self-sacrifice and love, and as the continuation of all that is the perfection of personality itself.

There are many things which must remain unknown or mysterious, because our Lord never gave us any definite revelation on the details of the future life. But religion must have its mysteries, nay, more, a religion which claimed to solve all the problems of life and the universe would not deserve the title of religion.



Nugent Gibraltar.